

The

YORKSHIRE

NUMISMATIST

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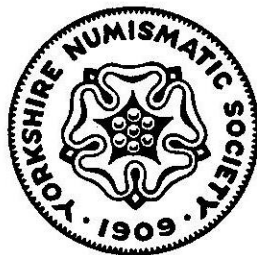
Including the Proceedings of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society
1986-87

THE YORKSHIRE NUMISMATIST

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incorporating
The Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society
and including
The Proceedings of the Society for 1986 and 1987

EDITED BY
John M. Ferrett and Peter J. Seaby



The Yorkshire Numismatic Society
LEEDS
1988

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THE YORKSHIRE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1988

ISBN 0 9513414 0 5

Available from:
The Hon. Secretary, Yorkshire Numismatic Society
2 Vernon Road, Heckmondwike, W Yorkshire WF16 9LU

Produced by:
H. Charlesworth & Co. Ltd., Huddersfield
Printed in Great Britain

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Publications of the Yorkshire Numismatic Fellowship and the Yorkshire Numismatic Society

<i>Number</i>	<i>Series</i>	<i>Volume</i>	<i>Part</i>	<i>Date published</i>
<i>Annual Report of the Yorkshire Numismatic Fellowship:</i>				
(1)	First	I	I	1910
(2)	First	I	II	1912
(3)	First	I	III	1913
(4)	First	I	IV	1914
<i>Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society:</i>				
(5)	First	I	V	1915
(6)	First	II	I	1916
(7)	First	II	II	1918
(8)	First	II	III	1919
(9)	First	II	IV	1921
(10)	First	II	V	1925
(11)	First	III	I	1927
(12)	First	III	II	1929
(13)	First	III	III	1934
(14)	First	III	IV	1938
(15)	Second	I	I	1951
(16)	Second	I	II	1953
(17-18)	Second	I	III & IV	1958
(19)	Second	I	V	1960
(20)	Second	II	I	1964*
(21)	Second	II	II	1966
(22)	Second	II	III	1968*
(23)	Second	II	IV	1970*
(24)	Second	II	V	1973
* indicates that a few back numbers are still available				
<i>Occasional Papers No. 1</i>				1978
<i>The Yorkshire Numismatist:</i> Number 1 (1986-7)				1988

Editor's Note

The Yorkshire Numismatic Fellowship was formed on 1 May 1909 at a meeting held in Halifax, its first Annual Meeting was held in Leeds on 18 December that year and the first *Annual Report* was published in 1910. The name of the society was changed to the Yorkshire Numismatic Society in 1914 and its journal then became *The Transactions of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society*. Publication was interrupted after 1938 until a new series of *Transactions* was commenced in 1951 which continued until 1973. This first number of a new series, now entitled *The Yorkshire Numismatist*, incorporates the Transactions of the Society and contains numismatic contributions relating to Yorkshire and the North of England, as well as subjects of more general interest, both from members of the Society and others.

Acknowledgements

The Council of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society would like to thank all those who have assisted the publication of this volume, either by contributing papers or by making a contribution to the costs through donations, advertisements or grants. In particular, thanks are due to the following:

The Royal Numismatic Society

Leeds City Council

The British Numismatic Trade Association

The Charles I halfcrown of the York mint illustrated on the front and back cover is from the Breckenbrough hoard and is reproduced by courtesy of The Yorkshire Museum, as are the coins illustrated on Plates I-IV.

Foreword

The Yorkshire Numismatic Society was established in 1909 and since then has admirably fulfilled the intention of its founders to promote the study of all branches and aspects of coinage. Over the years, it has numbered among its members many of the leading experts of their day whose researches have borne fruit as important monographs and papers in national journals. At the present time, the Yorkshire Numismatic Society continues to uphold these proud traditions and is particularly fortunate in having the support of a large, well-informed and energetic membership. The re-launch of its own periodical, after a gap of a number of years, is evidence of the vitality of the Society and the impressive contents bear witness to its academic calibre. With characteristic Yorkshire generosity, the freedom of its pages has been given to several contributors from beyond the shire. On behalf of the British Association of Numismatic Societies, and of all who share in the ideals of the YNS, I wish the venture every success and urge both members and friends outside to give *The Yorkshire Numismatist* the sustained support it so well deserves and which will ensure that the quality of this number will be maintained into the future.

MARION M. ARCHIBALD
President, BANS

Early Northumbrian Orthography and a Problem of Convention

E. J. E. PIRIE

The independence of early Northumbria

The late venerable Bede has given us at least two references to the *Nordanhymborum gens* — the nation of the Northumbrians: once, in citing Archbishop Theodore's acts of the Synod of Hertford in 672;¹ again, on his own account, in a further context relating to the bishop of Ripon.² By the time of Bede, the Northumbrians had one kingdom, formed by the union of Deira and Bernicia. Hunter Blair's paper³ on the Northumbrians and their southern frontier identified the Humber as a major boundary between north and south. From the mid-seventh century to the early eighth, the adjective 'Southumbrian' was applied to the people occupying territory south of the river; that term then gave way to *Mierce* — the border folk. In this context, Hunter Blair argued, the border was that formed by the East-West line of the Humber estuary, marshland skirted by a Roman road of continuing importance, and the Aire Gap over the Pennines. If, to the west, the extent of Northumbrian influence fluctuated at first, eventually its southern limit could be seen at the Ribble.

Hunter Blair cited Stenton's recognition⁴ of a clear distinction between the peoples established north and south of the Humber: a distinction which was maintained for more than two centuries, from the coming of the Angles to the period of the Viking raids. This factor clearly affected the early history of the separate peoples. The distinction can only have been lessened to some extent in the tenth century. Æthelstan's first campaigns, against the Northumbrians and the Scots, resulted in his capture of York in 927. If that king's title, *Rex totius Britanniae*, was recorded on pence issued as soon as 928,⁵ its adoption may be seen to relate particularly to victory north of Humber. Not without significance, surely, in relation to the former independence of Northumbria, is the claim to sovereignty in the whole of Britain rather than just in the whole of England.

¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*: Book IV, chapter v (see *English Historical Documents*, I [2nd edn., 1979]), 707.

² Ibid., Book IV, chapter xii (see *EHD*, I, 711).

³ P. Hunter Blair, 'The Northumbrians and their southern frontier', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 26 (1948), 98–126.

⁴ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1947), p. 32.

⁵ See C. E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Athelstan, King of England, 924–939', *British Numismatic Journal*, 42 (1974), 35–158: at p. 56.

It would be absurd to claim that before the Vikings' capture of York in 867, there was *no* contact between north and south. In the matter of coin-distribution alone, it is clear that, as the early pence of Wessex, Kent and Mercia were reaching Northumbria,⁶ so the native coins of Northumbria were reaching the southern kingdoms, where they may be seen as indications of traffic, at least, from the north.⁷ Yet one must take care to avoid the mistake of treating the archaeological evidence and, especially, the coins of Northumbria before 867, as if there were not likely to be any major difference in the policy and practice of the northern kingdom from contemporary organization and custom in the south.

Early Northumbrian coinage and current work on stycas

The early Northumbrian coinage exemplifies a continuous independence of southern developments. From the seventh-century gold of the so-called York thrymsas, through the first silver coins of Aldfrith to the later sceattas of Eadberht and his successors (together with the joint issues for king and archbishop), the legends and designs are quite distinct. The issues of the styca series (characterized by the record of moneyers' names), which began c. 790 and continued till c. 855, are incomparable: on the one hand, they retain the small flan; on the other, there is, first, the gradual change from good to base silver and then the adoption of copper or brass alloys as the medium for the coinage. The results of recent metallurgical analysis,⁸ which suggest that such alloys were carefully prepared, imply that they were seen to have some intrinsic value. It may follow, then, that for the second phase of issue, c. 837–55, the base metal was deliberately chosen to allow for the regular provision of official coins in considerable quantity. That the use of copper necessarily identifies an impoverished kingdom may be an assumption without real justification.

Grierson⁹ accounted Northumbria unique in Europe for not having adopted the broader, thinner, silver flan by the later eighth century; he could describe¹⁰ the ninth-century coins as the commonest and least-respected of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The current study of the styca coinage was begun in 1976 and was first confined to registration of the classic collection of specimens in the

⁶ *Archaeology of York, 18/1: Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations, 1971–1981* (E. Pirie et al., 1986), nos. 37–9; these records are of pence of Mercia and Wessex. A penny of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury (as yet unpublished) was recovered on Barmby Moor in East Yorkshire early in 1984; it is now in a private collection.

⁷ E. J. E. Pirie, 'Finds of "sceattas" and "stycas" of Northumbria', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, M. A. S. Blackburn, ed. (Leicester, 1986), 67–90: at p. 69.

⁸ G. R. Gilmore, 'Metal analysis of the Northumbrian stycas: review and suggestions', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, D. M. Metcalf, ed. (Oxford, 1987), 159–74: at p. 169.

⁹ P. Grierson and M. A. S. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, I (Cambridge, 1986): at p. 296.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, at p. 298.

Yorkshire Museum at York. In order to do justice to the arrangement of its wide range of material from the later phase of issue, it has been necessary to take into account stycas from other public collections as well as those in private cabinets. It has also been possible to monitor recoveries from recent excavations. Although many hundreds of dies have already been recorded, all new finds, as for example those in 1987 from Carlisle and from Thwing in East Yorkshire, are capable of providing evidence of additional examples. The extent of die-linking is such that, in a very real sense, it is now possible to begin reconstruction of the pattern of the coinage, c. 837–55.

The surviving evidence attests prolific official work supplemented by an inordinate volume of irregular issues. Within the authorized output there are a number of groups of work which are seen as concurrent rather than consecutive. They vary in size and encompass both principal and subsidiary issues by various moneyers for the kings and archbishops. Although group-identity is established principally by the detail of obverse die-readings, these sections of the whole are not completely independent of each other for a few of the reverse die-links cross the group-boundaries. A large portion of the irregular work can be shown to hang together in one massive complex; there are, in addition, many minor clusters of coins struck from dies of various styles.¹¹

Understanding of this mass of material can grow only from close examination of many different factors. Tracing the extent of die-linking within the work of any one moneyer and between the work of two or more draws attention to the significance of motif as a potential guide to sequence of issue. Epigraphy, which includes both Roman and runic letters, and the orthography of the names are no less important in the determination of individual sections of the work. Surely only by continuing recognition of the importance of apparently minor matters can the study of this evidence be carried forward.

Several points of interpretation can only be discussed convincingly as an accompaniment to publication of the York collection. At this stage, the manner of arranging the material is still the focus of controversy. Division into groups of related issues may at length be acceptable. Identification within the groups of a general sequence of issue, dependent primarily on use of motif, seems to have aroused criticism on its own account. Another disturbing factor has recently come to the fore: this is related to the forms in which the personal names should be rendered. That the forms which appear on the coins should be recorded in a catalogue stands unquestioned but that, for the moneyers especially, the form which occurs most often for each should be accepted as the norm for use in commentary is currently a subject of dispute.

There is now a very real conflict of interest between those who insist on the observance of conventional forms and those who consider it more appropriate, even essential, to preserve the vernacular in the context of

¹¹ E. J. E. Pirie, 'Phases and groups within the styca coinage of Northumbria', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, D. M. Metcalf, ed. (Oxford, 1987), 103–46.

a particular study. This is not a matter which can be brushed aside as being of no real consequence, by those who are prepared to let convention prevail. At the very least, adherence to convention creates a problem in the smooth handling of discussion concerned with a topic which is complex enough in itself. That this problem exists must be recognized and considered; it is surely capable of resolution.

The claims of convention in nomenclature

The conventional forms of personal names which have long been used by Anglo-Saxon historians are those of Wessex in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They are accepted as being philologically correct and capable of demonstrating fully for compound names the individual elements whose meaning and ethnic derivation can be determined. It would seem that the meaning of a name is now considered of more importance than its actual rendering on a document, whether manuscript or coin. Linguists, one understands, are satisfied that regional dialects are fully understood so retention of original forms is neither necessary nor desirable in modern text. Academic discussion, in standard English, must therefore observe the standard English forms of personal names; should reference to a particular legend ever be necessary, that can be cited in italics or capitals without undue inconvenience of expression.

Conventional forms are also seen to be convenient for purposes of indexing in onomastica, for under the umbrella of the West Saxon form of a name can be listed the apparent multitude of variations in spelling which occur in documents of all sorts, of different dates, from the different kingdoms. It seems to be since the publication in 1981 of the cumulative index to the *Sylloge* volumes,¹² that convention has directly affected the Northumbrian moneyers of the late eighth and ninth centuries. Before 1981, the comparatively narrow gulf which existed between the reality of the coin-legends and the name-forms used in discussion could be bridged by some amendments in transcription. It was deemed advisable to achieve in this way a greater degree of precision in nomenclature as an aid to clarifying the still imperfectly-understood pattern and structure of the styca coinage. The advantages of such minor alterations now seem to be nullified by the totally insensitive imposition of incongruous West Saxon forms, several of which are quite alien in the northern context. The advantages claimed for use of the southern forms can hardly be reconciled with any avowed intent to avoid misleading identification and assessment of the evidence. Not to mince words, insistence on the West Saxon convention has been described as ridiculous.

¹² V. J. Smart, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 28: *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1-20*, 1981.

Orthography and Northumbrian usage

That Anglo-Saxon moneyers, or their die-cutters, could not spell seems to be accepted as a fact of ancient life. That understanding may still prevail in relation to the moneyers of Northumbria, for the full range of the unofficial stycas has not yet been demonstrated. These *were* subject to blundering of names and doodled nonsense. The fully official issues, on the other hand, reflect comparatively few variations of any one moneyer's name. In recent private discussion, it was suggested that the forms on the stycas may vary from later usage only because the die-cutters lacked the space or lacked the punches necessary for rendering the names more formally. This view cannot be upheld. There are, on the tiny coins, many long legends; with the punches clearly available, further detail could have been produced if it was considered necessary. Neither lack of space nor lack of punches determined the forms recorded.

Furthermore, the stycas are not alone in affording us evidence of the name-forms in the north at that time. The *Liber Vitae*, which is now associated with Durham, begins with a ninth-century record, compiled at Lindisfarne,¹³ of the names of kings, queens, nobles and clerics of various ranks. The same names recur many times throughout the thirty folios of this early section. Most, if not all, of the names from the coins (Herred, for instance) occur more than once; there are many more instances of the basic elements appearing in further compounds. One cannot here instance them all, but some in particular must be mentioned so that one can see how the standard Northumbrian elements are not those of West Saxon usage. Whether as first or second element in any compound name, the following are found both in the manuscript and on the coins: *bald*, *uini*, *red*, *berc(h)t*, and *ald*. There can be no good reason, therefore, to depart from the practice of the time and place by referring to Ceolbald as Ceolbeald, Eaduini as Eadwine, Eanred and Coenred as Eanræd and Coenræd.

Herred is not Hereræd, Daegberct is not Dægbeorht and Aldhere (or Alghere) is not Ealhhere. The imposition of *æ* for *e* is as alien in the northern context as is the insertion of *o* in *berct* and the transformation of *Ald* to *Ealh*. If, in the Northumbrian documents, the letters *a* and *e* do occur together, they are always separate: they *never* appear as a diphthong. One should, indeed, write of the king Aethelred rather than of Æthelred. The identification of *th*, too, is a critical factor in the determination of a name.

It is in the treatment of *th* that the *Liber Vitae* differs from the record on the coins. One of the letters which supplements the Roman alphabet for the Anglo-Saxons is *edh*, a *d* or *D* with a diacritic stroke, which is transcribed as *th*. We must notice that, whereas on pence of the other

¹³ *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis I: Facsimile and General Introduction*, A. Hamilton Thompson; Surtees Society, 126 (1923), at p. 1.

early kingdoms (with the exception, perhaps of East Anglia¹⁴) and in tenth/eleventh century contexts, the capital form has the stroke through the back, in early Northumbria the capital, *when it occurs on the stycas*, usually has the stroke through the front curve. A few recorded exceptions to this formation all occur in the irregular issues. Among the later reflectives, a die which bears the name *Odilo* has the *D* slashed with a bar through the upright.¹⁵ The front-barred *D* is a feature which has not always been observed in recent publications of legends on stycas,¹⁶ for it seems to be assumed that there is, for the two versions, no essential difference in phonological value. But the *Liber Vitae* illustrates the use, in early Northumbria, of *th* as two separate letters; the name of Ecgfrith, for example, is spelt in just that way.¹⁷ They are clearly distinguished from *d* which either has no differencing feature, or a stroke so light that it might hardly be there. One cannot help but wonder what the real significance of the so-called *edh* might be, in early Northumbria. Is it really the equivalent of *th*? Might the bar just possibly be an indication that the letter in question was silent in pronunciation?

The coins show no use of *TH* as consecutive letters and only limited use of the front-barred *D*. The evidence of the coin-legends gives some hint that a central *D*, whether differenced with a bar or not, was regarded as silent. Although some, but not nearly all of the official obverse dies for Aethelred do show the stroked *D*, there are others where the king's name is rendered as AEILRED instead of as AEDILRED. In the sphere of the irregulars, EDILRED of the official work is sometimes reflected as EILRED. As far as the moneyers' personal dies are concerned, the same indications are there. The episcopal moneyer Edilueard is reflected in the irregulars as EIL-VARD. Moreover, Eanred's moneyer Brodr has one die which shows the reading BROER. The later change, in the time of Aethelred and Reduulf, to the legends which are usually transcribed as *Brother* may perhaps reflect no change in pronunciation as *Bro'er*.

Whatever the sense of the front-barred *D*, the moneyers Fordred and Leofdegn never use it, any more than Edilueard does, yet convention requires maintenance of the forms *Forthræd*, *Leofthegn* and *Æthelweard*. Fulcnod's name, too, is never rendered as *Fulcnoth*. The indiscriminate substitution of *th* for *d* in these and other contexts where the barred *D* does *not* occur is to be deplored; it is, if not downright misleading, at the very least distracting for it draws attention away from

¹⁴ *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, I (1887): East Anglia 11, a penny of Æthelstan I (c. 828–37), by the moneyer Mon, has the king's name spelt with a front-barred *D*.

¹⁵ The coin is in the Yorkshire Museum, York: Yorkshire collections, no. 1998.

¹⁶ M. A. S. Blackburn and M. J. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins — I', *British Numismatic Journal* 54 (1984), 63–73: the record of a styca from Grimsby (no. 11, p. 67) does note the use of the front-barred *D*, although the printed legend itself has the southern form of the *edh* (there termed *thorn*).

¹⁷ *Liber Vitae*, folio 12.

notable instances when the front-barred *D* really does occur, and from the even rarer use of the back-barred *D*. The latter is a feature of some early dies of Herred which appear in irregular combinations; the front-barred *D*, also as the final letter, appears on later irregular dies, for names which may still be transcribed as *Edunuth* and *Wernuth*.

The indiscriminate use of *W* is also to be avoided if one is not to mask the rare occurrence of the *wen* (to be transcribed as *W*). This further supplement to the Roman alphabet does not appear in the early portion of the *Liber Vitae* but, for the coins, is used on dies of the moneyer Wihtrud and occasionally on the irregular issues — as with *Wernuth*, already mentioned. It is for the practical purpose of distinguishing the incidence of *wen* that one has, in the last few years, deliberately transcribed most, if not all, examples of *V* as *V* and not as *W*, even when this has resulted in the eccentricity of the double *v* in *Eardvulf*. In the future, it would be in keeping with the practice of the *Liber Vitae* manuscript to use *U* or *u* for what appears on the coins as *V*.

These epigraphic features which affect orthography may, in themselves, be only small points. They are, however, small points which matter. They must be observed if one is to appreciate that what is normal usage elsewhere is abnormal in early Northumbria and that what may be abnormal elsewhere is normal in early Northumbria.

The need for simplicity in current usage

It is quite possible to normalize spellings for moneyers' names within the context of the official Northumbrian work; indeed, it is necessary to do so. In the first place, one must distinguish the different parts of the authorized coinage; secondly, one must be able to recognize in the versions on the irregular issues attempts (in varying degrees, successful) to reflect the names of past and contemporary officials, if only to be in a position to identify the true balderdash which defies comprehension.

Even when the Northumbrian norm is used as a matter of course for commentary on the coins, the need to make particular reference to specific dies or groups of dies occurs again and again. Different occasions demand close analysis of a cluster of coins, comparison of different official issues, or contrasting the features of various irregulars. Even the shortest text may be uncomfortably strewn with detail cited in capitals or italics. Experience has shown that when one is unrealistically compelled to observe conventional name-forms, the additional necessity of relating the normal to the conventional, as well as the unusual to the normal rendering, can multiply alarmingly the incidence of italics and capitals. This certainly does not make for easy composition; it cannot result in easy reading. There is a sense in which strict adherence to convention in nomenclature must surely go far towards defeating the purpose of any discussion.

In a situation where usage in the rendering of names is of no little importance, subservience to a convention concerned with their meaning surely cannot be justified. Mere convenience or ease of indexing surely

cannot be allowed to render difficult, if not virtually impossible, the smooth discussion of a plethora of particulars. Acceptance of the Northumbrian standard is surely more satisfactory, if only for the simplicity of handling the complex subject of the coinage. The names of the early Northumbrians may then be related to those elsewhere, of the same period or later, in a concordance which can fittingly be appended to any major written work.

The early Northumbrian names should stand on their own merits, if the splendid coinage of the independent northern kingdom is to receive the attention and respect it deserves.

A Viking copy of an Alfred London-Monogram penny from Doncaster

MARION M. ARCHIBALD

The President of YNS has generously asked me to contribute a note on the Viking copy of an Alfred London-Monogram penny found at Doncaster in 1987 (Fig. 1) which he had kindly drawn to my attention. The coin is now in the collection of Mr Terry E. Nield who has kindly allowed it to be published here. It may be described as follows:

Obv. ELFR ED RE+ Diademed profile bust to right

Rev. Monogram of Lvndonia, quatrefoil of pellets above and below.

Wt 1.14 g, 17.6 gr (chipped) Die axis 180°

Neither die has been matched among the published coins of the type.

Several features point to this penny being an accomplished Viking copy rather than an official coin of the West Saxon king. The obverse is perfectly literate, but the letters are clumsy when compared to those on Alfred's own coins (Fig. 3), and the bust is of somewhat barbarous work. The monogram's meaning has not been understood, and so the serif at the top of the left-hand upright has been interpreted as an additional horizontal, making a letter which is not required by the city name; this is an error commonly found on the Viking copies. The Doncaster penny's imitative status is clinched by its low weight, even after allowance has been made for the edge chipping. Alfred's London-Monogram issue was apparently struck to a literal pennyweight standard: most of the regular coins weigh between 22 and 25 grains, whereas



London-Monogram pennies. 1. Viking copy, Doncaster coin. 2. Viking copy, *BMC* 84. 3. Alfred, BM, ex Morgan.

most of the copies are under 20 grains, and a few are as low as 14–15 grains. At 17.6 grains, the Doncaster coin belongs to the series of better-style, better-weight, copies rather than to those of highly devalued style and very low weight.

The failure to match the dies exactly is not surprising since die-duplication and die-linkages are quite scarce in the extant imitative series. This is in contrast to the Alfredian issues proper where there is much duplication, and cross-linking between dies and sub-types is fairly extensive. This suggests that the imitative series was struck from a larger number of dies than the regular coins, although the dies of the latter were probably used to much nearer full capacity as they were often employed in a flawed state. Although not die-linked as yet, stylistic groupings are already discernible among the highly diverse obverse dies of the Viking imitations. The quirks of style displayed by the Doncaster penny, for example, associate it with several others of the superior copies. They share the representation of the fold of drapery at the left side by a triangle e.g. BMC 84 (Fig. 2), pointing to a common prototype in an Alfredian obverse die of elegant style known from several examples e.g. British Museum coin 1915-5-7-798 ex Morgan and Evans collections (Fig. 3).

The question arises whether these groupings are merely chronological, or whether they are indicative of several different minting places. The imitations have been traditionally associated with the Danelaw south of the Humber¹ — essentially the Five Towns — but York itself is also a possibility. Unfortunately, there is hardly any find-spot evidence which bears upon this matter. Although the Viking copies are not uncommon, most of the extant examples have come from a single source, the great hoard from Cuerdale, Lancs., deposited c. 905 and found in 1840. The London Monogram type was relatively early in the sequence of issues included in the hoard and so the dies present may not be fully representative, as the lack of duplication has already suggested. Although further London Monogram copies have turned up in other hoards from the North, such as Stamford and Dean, no individual site-finds have been recorded in either Yorkshire or Lincolnshire, unless the unprovenanced fragment in the Yorkshire Museum acquired from the Cook collection in 1920 (SCBI, Yorkshire 987) was in fact a local find.² (That coin belongs, in any case, to a different imitative grouping characterized by a prominent row of pellets below the neck of the king's tunic.) This dearth of evidence underlines the importance of the new discovery at Doncaster although, in isolation, it can be of little help as yet in resolving the question raised earlier in this paragraph. It may be said, however, that while Lincoln is the nearest of the Five Towns and is

¹ The fundamental study of Alfred's coinage remains that by R. H. M. Dolley and C. E. Blunt, 'The chronology of the coins of Alfred the Great 871–99' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961), pp. 77–95. The London Monogram imitations are considered in detail on pp. 89–90.

² I am grateful to Miss Elizabeth Pirie and Dr Melinda Mays for advice that there is no surviving evidence for the provenance of this coin.

one of the places which have been favoured as a mint of the imitative series, the Doncaster coin is very different in style from the copies of the London Monogram type with an actual Lincoln mint signature. The other candidates, including York, have no mint-signed imitative coins with which the Doncaster coin might be compared, so its place of issue must remain open.

The start of the regular London Monogram type is usually dated to 886, with the imitative coins following quickly afterwards. This traditional dating presents some chronological difficulties in ordering the various issues of Alfred and his contemporaries, and there is some evidence that it could have been earlier. A discussion of the pros and cons of the alternative chronologies would be out of place here and is reserved for another occasion. What is not in doubt is the importance of the Doncaster provenance for an imitative coin of this series.

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Notes on the 'PAXS' Type of William I

D. M. METCALF

I. THE DATE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 'PAXS' TYPE

The 'PAXS' type has long been classified as William I's eighth issue. The traditional dating, which was accepted uncritically for many years, goes back to Andrew,¹ who argued on the evidence of a charter now judged to be spurious that at Durham the type could only have been issued between 1082 and 1087.

Dolley made a serious effort in 1966 to establish the chronology of the Norman coinage, and his remarks on the dating of the 'PAXS' type (1083-6) have not been improved on. North had dealt with the problem of very uneven survival-rates and the possibility that a few types ran for less than three years (for us to be able to fit 13 types in the name of William I/II into 34 years) by suggesting that the last type of William I and of William II each lasted for only one year. Dolley rejected this, observing that the 'PAXS' type is likely to have been in issue for a longer rather than a shorter period, because it is relatively plentiful in Scandinavia. He proposed two-year validity periods for William's first four types, and (cautiously) that 'there could be a very plausible association of the Beauworth hoard with the emergency of 1085 when a Danish invasion was confidently expected... There seems something to be said, too, for any arrangement of the coins which brings in the PAXS type in 1083, enabling this most common of William's coin-types to be linked with one of the heaviest of all imposts levied by the Conqueror, the six-shilling geld of 1083/4.'² One small numismatic criticism should be added to that statement: if the Beauworth hoard includes examples of all or virtually all the dies used for the type (as it seems to have done) its concealment cannot have been earlier than late in the period of validity, especially if it is necessary to allow time for coins from mints all over England to become mingled, and this perhaps puts difficulties in the way of dating Beauworth to the emergency of 1085.

One further small clue has since come to light, which may have an indirect bearing on the dates of issue of the 'PAXS' type: there is a unique coin of the Cardiff mint of BMC Type vi, found in the grounds of Cardiff castle, and which arguably was not minted before 1081.³ If the dating of the castle is correct, this evidence tends to push type viii, the

¹ W. J. Andrew, 'A numismatic history of the reign of Henry I, 1100-1135', *Numismatic Chronicle* 4th Ser., 1 (1901), 1-515, at p. 183.

² M. Dolley, *The Norman Conquest and the English Coinage*, 1966, pp. 15-18.

³ G. C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards, 1979-1981*, Cardiff, 1986, pp. 40 and 46.

'PAXS' type, to a late date in the reign, or even into that of William II.⁴

Much ink has been spilled in conjecture upon the significance of the 'PAXS' design. Hawkins sagely remarked, after reviewing various suggestions, that 'unless we can ascertain the probable date of the coinage, it will be in vain to attempt a conclusive application of the letters to any particular event . . .'⁵ There are Norman deniers with PAX as their type which Mme. Dumas dates to much the same date as the 'PAXS' issue in England, although on very slender numismatic evidence.⁶ They could be some decades later. The general historical context of the Peace of God movement is discussed by Bisson,⁷ and the diplomatic context is thoroughly analysed by Keynes.⁸

As there is no very obvious historical event to have prompted the choice of type, one might perhaps approach the problem by asking whether there is any plausible occasion for the concealment of the hoard. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that William II carried out his father's wish by the distribution of treasure: . . . 'into every shire were sent a hundred pounds in money, to distribute to poor men for his soul.' If the Beauworth hoard was a sum of money (as much as £50 by some accounts) taken from the treasury, the thorough mixture of coins of all mints might be explained, and the high representation rate per reverse die, e.g. among York and Cambridge mint coins (discussed below), would make better sense. If the Beauworth hoard is seen as William the Conqueror's alms, it provides evidence that the issue of the type was essentially complete at his death.

The hoard was contained in a cylindrical cast lead vessel c. 325 mm in height and c. 200 mm in diameter, which probably had a hinged lid. There may also have been an outer box, described as having a small plain semi-circular iron handle. The leaden (or pewter?) vessel is illustrated in *BNJ* 2 (1905), at p. 102.

2. THE DIE-RATIO AT THE YORK MINT IN THE 'PAXS' TYPE

Michael Dolley concluded a note on the York mint, written nearly thirty years ago, with the remark, 'What one would also like to demonstrate is that within the 'PAXS' type the York moneyers employ no more than four obverse and eight reverse dies, i.e. they were issued with no more than a set of dies apiece . . .'.⁹ The reduction of the York establishment from a dozen moneyers to only four, and those four so limited in the

⁴ M. M. Archibald, 'Coins', in *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (Arts Council Exhibition, Hayward Gallery, London, April-July 1984), note on cat. no. 396, pp. 327f.

⁵ Ruding, op. cit., p. 152.

⁶ F. Dumas, 'Les monnaies normandes (X^e-XII^e siècles)', *RN* 21 (1979), 84-140 at pp. 93f, and pl. 20, 23.

⁷ T. N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, Oxford, 1979, pp. 54-6.

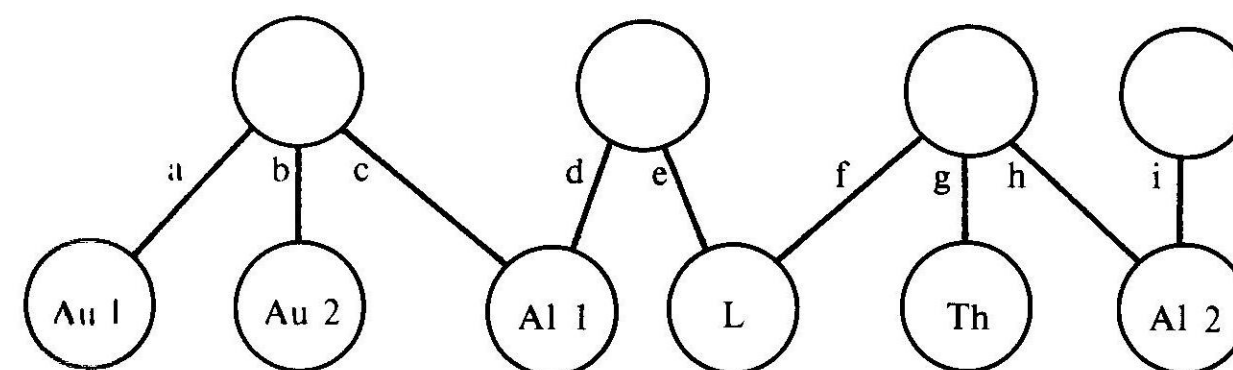
⁸ S. Keynes, 'An interpretation of the *Pax*, *Pax*, and *Pax* pennies', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 165-73. Note also Henry I *BMC* type III.

⁹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'A further die-link within the York mint in the so-called "Pax" type of William I', *NCirc* 67 (1959), 227.

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number of dies they used, illustrates most forcefully the economic effect of William's harrowing of the North. The suggestion that York dies came in sets of three (as was normal practice later in the middle ages) is however disturbing. It runs counter to the tendency of the evidence for the 'PAXS' type as a whole, where it is statistically quite clear that the die-ratio was *not* two to one, although it may in practice have been fractionally higher than one to one, because dies were supplied in pairs, and some of the obverse dies were never needed. Can York have been different in this respect? One would be extremely reluctant to think so. The problem hardly affects the numerical conclusions on the basis of which the Domesday text has been construed,¹⁰ but it deserves to be resolved, or at least approached squarely.

There were 84 York coins in the Beauworth hoard, shared fairly evenly between the four moneyers (Aleifr, 20; Authbjorn, 27; Ley-singr, 20; Thorr, 17). The coins have now been scattered to the four winds, and most of them no doubt lie in private collections, having often changed hands. The *Sylloge* enables us to round up two dozen specimens. 'PAXS' obverses are not of the easiest to die-link from photographs, but the position appears to be as shown in Fig. 1. Given that the



a *BMC* 1157, Merseyside 897 (2)

b *BMC* 1156, Oxford 172, Copenhagen 1310, Merseyside 895, America 732 (5)

*c Oxford 171 (1)

d *BMC* 1153, Yorkshire 788, Mack 1470, Merseyside 894, Midlands 628, and apparently Yorkshire 787 (6)

*e *BMC* 1154, Yorkshire 789, Merseyside 896, Norweb 287 (4)

*f Copenhagen 1309 (1)

g *BMC* 1155, Yorkshire 790, Merseyside 898, FE Jones 7/14 (4)

*h FEJ 7/13, Hillyer (*NCirc* 1959) (2)

i Merseyside 893

The starred specimens can be seen as cross-moneyer links.

FIG. 1. York die-links.

¹⁰ D. M. Metcalf, 'The taxation of moneyers under Edward the Confessor and in 1086', in *Domesday Studies. Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, ed. J. C. Holt, pp. 279-93.

sample includes only 4 coins by Thorr and only 5 by Leysingr, whereas the proportions in the Beauworth hoard were more balanced, it is a delicate question whether those two moneyers are likely ever to have used a second reverse die. The position seems to be that there are only four obverse dies in the sample (of which one was very little used); and we are not in a position, because of the sample size, to deny that there could have been eight reverses, although only six are on record. As there are no reverse singletons, we can say that the six known reverse dies represent comfortably over 90% of the *output* — but this in no way excludes the possibility that another two dies were supplied, but little used. For our estimate of output, in 'equivalent reverse dies', 6 is a firm figure. The relatively high representation per reverse die in Beauworth, for so distant a mint, is a distinct encouragement to think that the hoard reflects money drawn into the treasury by taxation, rather than the effects of the normal dispersion of currency in southern England. The alternative would be to argue that the four moneyers at York had a greater output each. This view runs into the technical difficulty that the potential output of a reverse die is limited.

Note also Kenneth Jacobs' observation that all the Cambridge coins of the 'PAXS' type which he had checked appeared to be from a single pair of dies.¹¹ If this is correct they had an exceptionally high representation in the Beauworth hoard, pointing again to a sum of money taken from the treasury.

3. THE MONEYERS OF THE 'PAXS' TYPE

The 'PAXS' type gives us the names of 165 individuals, constituting some sort of cross-section of a well-to-do layer of society and its chosen style of name-giving in the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹² There are just over a hundred different personal names in the list, as a good many occur more than once. The clear favourites are Ælfwine, Godwine, and Leofwine.

There is a problem in knowing whether or not the same name at two or more mints may represent the same individual. The servicing of branch mints in the eleventh century by one man who went to and fro has been convincingly demonstrated, and occasionally we can prove that the same moneyer worked at quite distant and unconnected places.¹³ The transfers of obverse dies between mints, documented in a dozen instances by die-links, illustrate the scale of movement. An examination of the list of moneyers, however, reveals virtually no obvious cases of identity, and it seems safe to say that at least 150 individuals are involved.

¹¹ K. A. Jacob, 'The mint of Cambridge', *Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1984), 34–43, 72–6, at p. 74.

¹² F. M. Stenton, 'Personal names in place-names', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 84–105.

¹³ I. Stewart, 'Reflections on some Wessex mints and moneyers', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 7 Ser., 15 (1975), 209–29.

Of the 165 moneyer/mint names, 20 involve ON names, a mere 4 or 5 are CG, and all the rest are OE. Northerly mints have more than their share of ON names, which are however scattered through southern England too. One can detect an East Anglian focus, not unexpected, for the CG names.

There are hints here and there that moneyers at a mint are members of the same family, who have been given related names — Æthelmær and Osmær at Bath; Ælfgeat and Ælfheah at Sandwich; perhaps Bruning and Coling at Tamworth.

By-names are occasionally found. The obvious reason to use them was to distinguish between two individuals of the same name, but there may have been other reasons. (Godric Bird, Leofwine Horn, Sigelac Wine. Ælfwi Turi, Boon suggests, may be Ælfwine de Turre.)

Old English Names

Ælfgæard (Worcester), Ælfgeat (Sandwich), Ælfheah (Pevensey and Sandwich — possibly the same individual?), Ælfræd (Cambridge, London), Ælfric (Bridport, Ipswich, Lewes), Ælfsige (Chester, Colchester), Ælfweard (Ilchester, Maldon), Ælfwine (Abergavenny?, Cardiff, Cricklade, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ipswich, London, Maldon, Rhuddlan, St. Davids, Taunton, Thetford, Wilton)
 Æthelmær (Bath), Æthelnoth (Shaftesbury), Æthelric (Wareham, Warwick), Æthelstan (Winchester), Æthelwine (Hereford, Ipswich, Walsingham)
 Beorhtnoth (Exeter), Beorhtræd (Oxford), Beorhtweald (Canterbury), Beortweard (Bristol), Beorhtwig (Bridport), Beortwine (London)
 Bruning (London, Tamworth, Winchester), Brunman (Chichester), Brunstan (Bristol, Stamford)
 Buthnoth (Canterbury)
 Centwine (Shaftesbury)
 Cild (Marlborough)
 Ciping (Hastings)
 Colblac (Bristol), Coling (Tamworth)
 Cuthbeorht (Durham)
 Cynestan (?) (Dover)
 Deorman (Colchester)
 Dunning (Hastings)
 Eadred (Hythe), Eadric (London), Eadweald (Norwich), Eadweard (?) (Dover), Eadwine (Chichester, London)
 Ealdwulf (Southwark)
 Eannwig (Shrewsbury)
 Eastmær (Worcester)
 Godesbrand (Bath — or Barnstaple?) [and see also also Godsbrand], Goding (Thetford), Godleof (Stamford, Thetford), Godræd (Thetford), Godric (Canterbury, Launceston, Leicester, London and Southwark, Norwich, Stafford, Thetford), Godric Bird (Norwich),

Godsbrand (Malmesbury, Shaftesbury), Godwine (Derby, London, Norwich, Salisbury, Sandwich, Stafford, Wareham)
 Goldwine (Dover, Wilton, Winchester)
 Leofing (Chester, Warwick, Winchester), Leofric (Dorchester, Dover, Warwick), Leofstan (Hereford, Rochester), Leofsunu (Maldon), Leofweard (Southwark, Winchester), Leofwine (Bristol, Chester, Derby, Dover, Exeter, Ipswich), Leofwine Horn (Rochester)
 Manna (Nottingham)
 Ordwig (Hereford)
 Osmær (Bath), Osmund (Southwark), Osweald (Lewes)
 Sæmær (Exeter, Hertford), Særic (Guildford), Sæweard (Barnstaple, Malmesbury), Sæwine (Exeter, Southampton, Wilton, Worcester)
 Sidlocc (Wareham)
 Sigferth (Lincoln) [more probably Sigfrothr?], Sigelac Wine (Exeter), Sigemær (Canterbury), Sigeweard (Winchester), Sigewulf (Watchet)
 Spræclinc (Winchester)
 Swetman (Oxford)
 Theodric (Hertford) [OE or CG?]
 Wigmund (Winchester)
 Winedæg (Canterbury, Romney)
 Wulfbeald (Canterbury), Wulfgeat (Exeter), Wulfmær (Romney), Wulf-
 fric (Canterbury, Colchester, Sudbury), Wulfweard (Stamford),
 Wulfine (Colchester, Ipswich, Oxford)
 Wynræd (Lewes)

Old Norse Names

Aleifr (York), Atsurr (Nottingham), Authbjorn (York)
 Leysingr (York)
 Ottarr (Dorchester)
 Sæfari (Wilton), Sægrimr (Shrewsbury)
 Sigbrand (Bedford), Sigfrothr (?) (Lincoln)
 Sunnulf (Chester), Sveinn (Bristol, Cardiff, Ipswich), Svertingr (Wal-
 lingford)
 Thorbjorn (Steyning), Thorr (York)
 Ulf (Lincoln), Ulfketill (Cambridge, Norwich)
 Unnulf (Chester)

Continental Germanic and Uncertain Names

Baldric (Worcester)
 Folcard (Thetford)
 Howard (Norwich), Inhune (?) (Norwich)
 Osbern (Salisbury)
 Theodric (CG or OE?) (Hertford)

4 THE BEAUWORTH HOARD, 1833, AND THE QUESTION OF THE UNDER-USE OF DIES

The following summary is based on Hawkins' list of reverse legends, with corrected attributions. It includes 6,468 whole coins plus 18 cut halves. There were at least 6 mules with the preceding type, but whether they are counted in the total is not clear. Where two figures are given the estimate of reverse dies is a firm minimum, plus a maximum that is very unlikely to have been exceeded (source: Metcalf 'Continuity and change', Appendix VII). The representation per reverse die (quantity in hoard, divided by estimate) inevitably conflates output per die and the varying representation of the mints, e.g. with distance from the find-spot; an attempt is made below to analyse the evidence. The moneyers' names are normalized in accordance with SCBI 28, with the spelling on the coin given in parentheses where it may be of dialectal interest. The final column gives a suggested figure for the 'establishment' of the mint, which takes into account the levels of activity of the moneyers, and also their occurrence in preceding and following types. It is, however, often difficult to decide whether the 'additional' moneyers are replacements or short-term recruits.

For the attributions to Abergavenny, Cardiff, and St Davids, see G. C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, Cardiff, 1986, note 38 on pp. 66f.

For any particular mint, the ratio of coins in the Beauworth hoard to the estimated number of reverse dies used at that mint will reflect the availability of the coins for hoarding, and also the average output of a reverse die. The ratio varies from 10 or more to as little as 1. Distant mints tend to have a low ratio (Chester, 1-3; Stafford, 1 or less; Nottingham 3.5 or less; but York as high as 14). Winchester has a high ratio (14-25), but not markedly so, given its proximity to Beauworth. The ratio can be no more accurate than the estimate of reverse dies, and this unfortunately often has to be expressed with a wide margin of uncertainty, or open-endedly with a plus (which turns, arithmetically, into a minus in the 'representation' column).

The one-moneyer mints tend to have ratios of around 4, with the conspicuous exception of Taunton — but it would only take the discovery of a couple of new reverse dies to alter the picture at Taunton. At the larger mints 5-10 is a characteristic range, and at London it is 7-16. If one could discount availability, the ratios would indicate that at small mints dies might be used to produce only about half as many coins as at large mints; but unfortunately it is clear that availability cannot be measured by the distance of a mint from Beauworth.

One possible approach is to consider differences within a single mint. Where a corpus of dies is available, the estimates should be reasonably accurate, and where there are differences the ratios should so far as one can see offer evidence that one moneyer produced on average more coins per die than another. The evidence in general is of little variation. At Lincoln, for example, 6 known dies for Sigfrothr contribute 52

Mint	Qty.	%	Rx dies	Repr.n	Moneyers	No.
Abergavenny	3	0.0	3+	1-	Ælfwine	1
Barnstaple	8	0.1	2+	4-	Sæweard (SEPORD), 8	1
Bath	17+?	0.3+	4+	5-	Æthelmær (AEGLE-), 7; Godesbrand (in BMC), 2+; Osmær, 10	2+1?
Bedford	22	0.3	3+	7-	Sigbrand, ON (or Sigebrand, CG??) (SIBRAND), 22	1
Bridport	12	0.2	3+	4-	Ælfric, 2; Beorhtwig (BRIHTPI), 10	1+1?
Bristol	208	3.2	19-c. 40	c. 5-11	Beorhtweard (BRIHTWORD) 60; Brunstan, 12; Colblac, 91; Leofwine (LIFPINE) (early within the type?), 6; Sveinn ON (SPEGN), 39	4+1?
Cambridge	31	0.5	1+(1)	31(-)	Ulfketill (VLFCIL), ON, 31	1
Canterbury	285	4.4	41-125	2-7	Ælfræd, 45; Beorhtweald (BRIHTPOLD), 28; Burhnoth, 3; Godric, 23; Sigemær (SIMAER), 54; Winedæg (PINEDI), 58; Wulfbeald (PVLBOLD), 24; Wulfric, 50	7+1
Cardiff	3	0.0	3+	1-	Ælfsige, 1; Sveinn, 1; Ælfwine de Turre, 1	2?
Chester	42	0.6	13-c. 40	1-3	Ælfsige (AELFSI), 9; Leofing (LIFINC), 11; Leofwine, 11; Sunnulf (SVNOLF), ON, 10; Unnulf (VNNVLF), ON, 1	4+1
Chichester	224	3.4	12	19	Brunman, 162; Eadwine, 62	2
Colchester	96	1.5	7+	14-	Ælfsige (AELFSI), 22; Deorman (DRMAN), 8; Wulfric, 50; Wulfwine, 16	4
Cricklade	15	0.2	1+	15-	Ælfwine, 15	1
Derby	20	0.3	3+	7-	Godwine, 14; Leofwine, 6	2
Dorchester	25	0.4	4+	6-	Leofric (LIFRIC), 4; Ottarr (OTER), ON, 21	2
Dover	96½	1.5	17-45	2-6	LIFSTAN (error for Cynestan?), 1; EDPOD (Eadweard, or error for Eadweald?), 3; Goldwine, 24; Leofric? (LVLFRIC), 27½; Leofwine, 41	3+2?
Durham	4	0.1	1+	4-	Cuthbeorht, 4	1

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Mint	Qty.	%	Rx dies	Repr.n	Moneyers	No.
Exeter	18	0.1	1-c. 30	5-1	Leofwine, 73; Sæmæd, SÆMÆD, 44; Sæwine, 58. [Evidently a 3-moneyer mint rather than 4 as Dolley suggests.]	3
Gloucester	28	1.1	13-c. 40	2-5	Beorhtnoth (BRIHTNOD), 19; Sigelac Wine (SILACPINE, SILAECPIKE, 21; SILAC, 6), 27; Wulfgeat (VEGAET), OE?, 22	3
Guildford	0(1+)	0.0	1	-	Saeric, 0 in Hawkins, but several in hoard	1
Hastings	72	1.1	7	10	Ciping (CIPINCC), 24; Dunning (DVNIC), 48	2
Hereford	59	0.9	6-12	5-10	Æthelwine, 20; Ælfwine (AELFPI), 5; Leofstan, 21; Ordwig (ORDPI), 13	4?
Hertford	8	0.1	2+	4-	Sæmær, 1; Theodric (DAEDRIC), OE or ?CG, 7	2?
Huntingdon	5	0.1	1+	5-	Ælfwine, 5	1
Hythe	16	0.2	4+	4-	Eadred, 16	1
Ilchester	10	0.2	2+	5-	Ælfweard (AELFPORD), 10	1
Ipswich	78½	1.2	12-c. 30	2.5-7	Æthelwine, 14; Ælfric, 5; Ælfwine, 11½; Leofwine, 13; Sveinn, 32; Wulfwine, 3	4+2?
Launceston	6	0.1	2+	3-	Godric, 6	1
Leicester	19	0.3	2+	10-	Godric, 19	1
Lewes	77	1.2	15	5	Ælfric, 38; Osweald (OSPOLD), 11; Wynræd, 28	3
Lincoln	171½	2.6	18	10	Sigferth, OE, or Sigfrothr, ON, (SIFERD), 52; Ulf, ON, 119½	2
London	792½	12.2	49-106	7.5-16	Ælfræd, 118; Ælfwine (AELFI), 137; Beorhtwine, 111, Bruning (late in the type), 1; Eadric, 133½; Eadwine (EDPI), 145; Godric (also at Southwark), 29; Godwine, 118	7+1
Maldon	10 (mule)	0.2	3+	3-	Ælfweard (AELFORD), 2; Ælfwine, 3; Leofsunu, 5	3?

Notes on the 'PAXS' Type of William I

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Qty.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Rx dies</i>	<i>Repr. n</i>	<i>Moneyers</i>	<i>No.</i>
Malmesbury	8 (mule)	0.1	4+	2-	Godsbrand, 8; Sæweard, 0	1+1
Marlborough	5	0.1	1+	5-	Cild, 5	1
Norwich	236½	3.6	25-c. 50	5-10	Eadweald (EDPOLD), 41; Godric (Brd), 12; Godwine, 91½; Howard, OF derived from CG, 25; Inhune, 8; Ulfketill, ON, 59	5+1?
Nottingham	17 (mule)	0.3	5+	3.5-	Atsurr, ON, 3; Manna, 14	2?
Oxford	145	2.2	16-28	5-9	Beorhtræd, 64; Swetman, 67; Wulfwine (PVLFP1), 14 [Three moneyers rather than 4.]	3
Pevensey	7	0.1	1	7	Ælfheah, 7	1
Rhuddlan	1	0.0	1	1	Ælfwine	1
Rochester	9	0.1	3+	3-	Leofstan, 4; Leofwine Horn, 5	2
Romney	31	0.5	7+	4-	Winedæg, 14; Wulfmær, 17	2
St. Davids	7+	0.1	6+	1-2	Turri	1
Salisbury	243	3.8	18-41	6-15	Osbern, CG, 138; Godwine, 105	2
Sandwich	39	0.6	4+	10-	Ælfgeat, 13; Ælfheah, 4; Godwine, 22	2+1?
Shaftesbury	72	1.1	15+	5-	Æthelnoth (AELNOD), 49; Centwine (CINTPINE), 8; Godsbrand (or GODESBRAND), 15	2+1?
Shrewsbury	20	0.3	6-9	2-3	Earnwig, 13; Sægrimr, ON, 7	2
Southampton	36	0.6	5-9	4-7	Sæwine, 36	1
Southwark	498½	7.7	29-92	5-15	Ealdwulf (ALDOLF, AEDOLF), 161; Godric (also at London), 23; Leofweard (LIFFORD), 187½; Osmund, 127	3/4
Stafford	2	0.0	2+	1-	Godric, 0; Godwine, 2	1/2?
Stamford	51	0.8	4+	13-	Brunstan, 28; Godleof (early?), 5; Wulfweard, 18	2+1?
Steyning	46	0.7	7	7	Thorbjorn (THURBERN), 46	1
Sudbury	29	0.4	5+	6-	Wulfric, 29	1
Tamworth	5	0.1	2+	2.5-	Bruning, 3; Coling, 2	2
Taunton	25 (mule)	0.4	2+	13-	Ælfwine, 25	1

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<i>Mint</i>	<i>Qty.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Rx dies</i>	<i>Repr. n</i>	<i>Moneyers</i>	<i>No.</i>
Thetford	123	1.9	15-c. 30	4-8	Ælfwine, 58; Folcard, CG, 12; Godleof, 7; Goding, 7; Godræd, 11; Godric, 28	6
Wallingford	237	3.7	13-25	10-18	Æthelwine (AEGLE-), 215; Svertingr (early?), 22	1+1?
Wareham	45½	0.7	11+	4-	Æthelric, 13½; Godwine (early?), 3; Sidlocc, 29½	2+1
Warwick	26	0.4	9-33	1-3	Æthelric (AELRIC), 1; Leofing (LVFINC), 8; Leofric, 7; Thorketill, 10	3+1
Watchet	4	0.1	2	2	Sigewulf, 4	1
Wilton	72	1.1	6-8	9-12	Ælfwine, 16; Sæfari, 15; Sæwine, 41	3
Winchcombe	11	0.2	2+	6-	Goldwine, 11	1
Winchester	1,594½ (2 mules)	24.8	63-113	14-25	Æthelstan (AESTAN), 263½; Bruning, 10; Godwine, 189; Leofing, 72; Leofweald (LAEFPOLD), 537½; Sigeweard (SIPORD, SIPPORD), 75; Spræcling, 232½; Wigmund, 216	7+1?
Worcester	44	0.7	6-12	4-7	Ælfgeard, 7; Baldric, CG, 9; Eastmær, 10; Sæwine, 18	4
York	84	1.3	6?	14	Aleifr, 20; Authbjorn (VPTHBERN), 27; Leysingr, 20; Thorri, 17	4

Notes on the 'PAXS' Type of William I

specimens to Beauworth, while 11 known dies for Ulf contribute 119 — ratios of about 9 and 12.

Where there are moneyers who contribute many fewer coins to Beauworth than others at the same mint, their average output per die tends to be somewhat lower. In some cases this may be because they relinquished office, or took office late in the type's period of issue.

The above consideration of the relationship between quantities of coins of individual mints in the Beauworth hoard, and the probable numbers of reverse dies utilized goes some way to establish the character of the hoard. It seems clear that our best available guide to the relative importance of the mints is provided by the lower estimate (where there are two) for reverse dies. If we convert the estimates into percentage form (remembering that they are somewhat approximate), we can then go on to compare the ranking of the mints in 1086 with what it had been before the Conquest. Winchester stands first, with roughly 15 per cent of the national output of coinage, followed by London (c. 11%), Canterbury (c. 10%), Southwark (c. 7%), Norwich (c. 6%), Bristol (c. 5%), Salisbury (c. 4%), and so on.

This represents a very dramatic shift in Winchester's importance. In the years from the millennium onwards, to 1066, it rarely accounted for more than about 5 per cent of the national total. It is interesting that Salisbury, too, more than doubles its share. London's share is considerably diminished, but that of Southwark leaps from around 1 per cent or less, to a remarkable 7 per cent — presumably for political rather than economic reasons — bringing the combined total for London and Southwark back into line. Canterbury's share, at around 10 per cent, is substantially increased, Lincoln is much diminished, and so, of course, is York. It is a delicate task to assess the significance of these changes for monetary history, but they seem to point to a style of government centralized more at Winchester, and to a severing of contacts between the Danelaw and the trading partners of that region across the North Sea.

5. METROLOGY OF THE 'PAXS' TYPE

William raised the weight-standard of the sterling penny at an intermediate date in his reign, which seems to have been not later than the introduction of the 'Sword' type (Type vi), generally set at c. 1077. The standard would seem to have been about 21 coins to the ounce, or 21½ grains. It is difficult to collect up enough suitable material to determine the modal weights of Types v, vi, and vii, but the Beauworth hoard offers a splendid opportunity to study the pattern of weights of the 'PAXS' type. The flans are very accurately controlled, varying little from the modal weight of 21.2 gr. (1.374 g). The coins of some mints are marginally sub-standard, Chichester and Wareham being clear examples.

Cut halfpennies weigh less than half as much as pennies, probably

Notes on the 'PAXS' Type of William I

because the mints culled light-weight pennies, cut them in half, and issued them as half-pennies.

A histogram based on the weights published in *BMC* is shown as Fig. 2. The step-interval is 0.5 gr. (0.032 g), or one-fortieth of the weight of the flan. The steps have been positioned so as to maximize the proportion of coins in the central step.

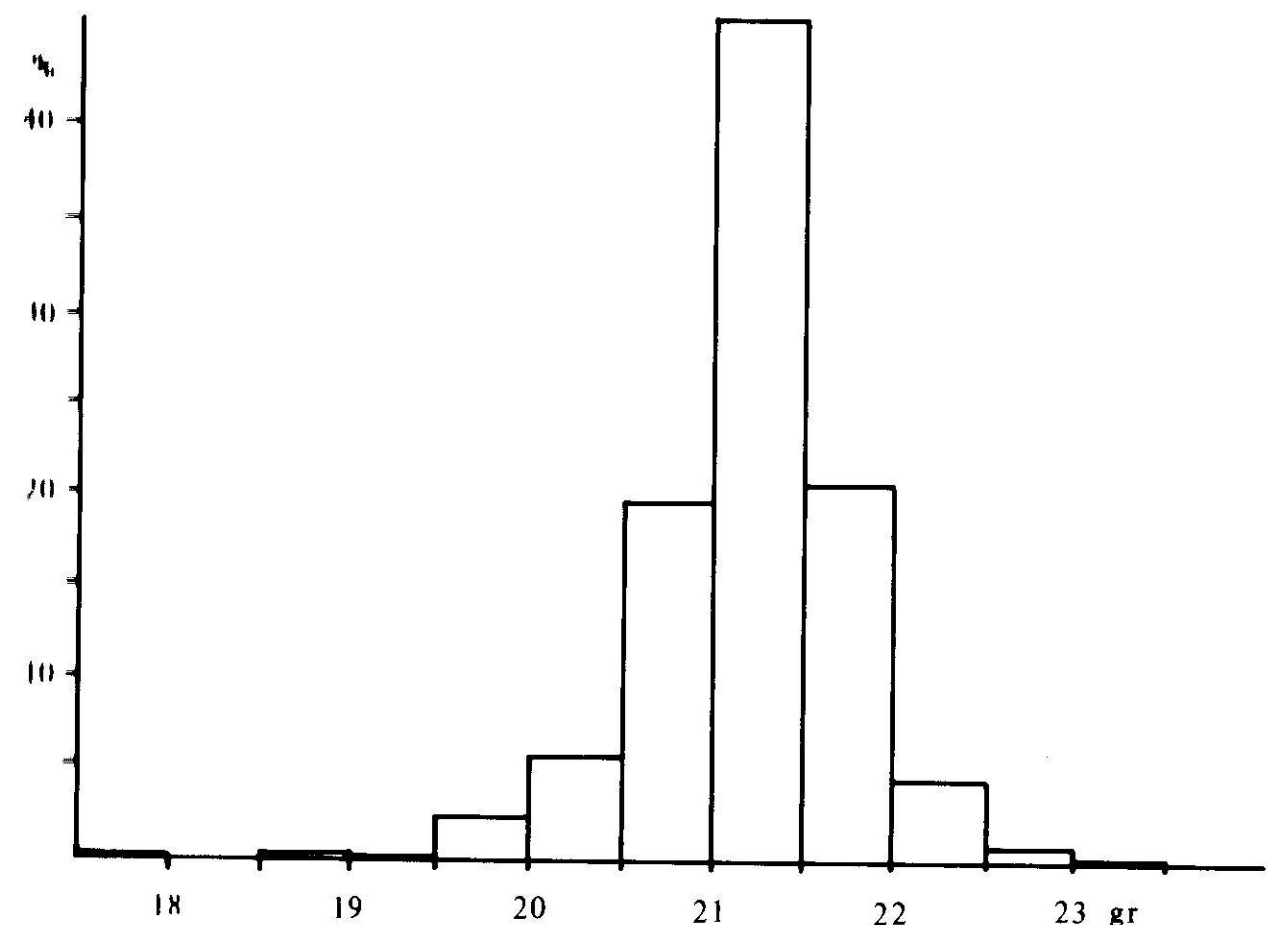


FIG. 2 Histogram of weights of the 'PAXS' type (647 items: central step = 46.5%)

A small sample of coins (*BMC* 1145-57) was reweighed (twice, to three decimal places of grammes) on an electronic balance. The modern weighings were all systematically higher by 0.05 to 0.15 gr. (0.003-0.01 g).

Where similar histograms can be drawn for later sterlings, of which the official weight is known,¹⁴ the modal value falls below the official weight. It is difficult, therefore, to judge what the official weight of the 'PAXS' type may have been — possibly 20 to the ounce. Nightingale

¹⁴ See D. M. Metcalf and H. A. Miskimin, 'The Carolingian pound: a discussion', *NCirc* 1960, 31, 4 at p. 334 (peak, 21.0 gr., legal weight 22.22 gr.); and M. M. Archibald, 'The Mayfield (Sussex) 1968 hoard of English pence and French gros, c. 1307', *Mints, Dies, and Currency* (ed. R. A. G. Carson), 1970, 151-9, at p. 154 (243 coins to the pound).

D. M. Metcalf

argues for an (actual?) figure of 1.39 g, to give an ounce of 27.8 g.¹⁵ This weight was not achieved in practice. The modal value (published figures) is 21.2 gr. (1.374 g), which ought possibly to be adjusted to c. 21.3 gr. (1.380 g) if the coins were carefully re-weighed.

¹⁵ P. Nightingale, 'The ora, the mark and the mancus: weight-standards and the coinage in eleventh-century England', Part 1, *Numismatic Chronicle* 143 (1983), 248–57.

Henry I Coin Types: Design Characteristics and Chronology

PETER SEABY

This paper is based upon the Presidential Address given to the Yorkshire Numismatic Society, 2 February 1987, in which the writer had discussed certain aspects of Henry's coinage that had a bearing upon the sequence of types and their dates. The order of English coin types from 973 to 1100 is now well established, but the sequence and chronology of types from 1100 to 1135 is far more problematical due to the inadequacy of hoard evidence for the early and middle periods of Henry's reign, some of the difficulties involved being touched upon by Miss Marion Archibald in 1974¹ and 1984². Of the twenty-two hoards containing coins of Henry I thirteen were deposited either during the period of his last type or in the reign of Stephen, three of the remaining nine are continental and the details of three others are incomplete. When hoard evidence is lacking and the register of moneyers is obviously very incomplete it may be helpful to look at some of the design characteristics of the coinage in order to arrive at a probable order of types.

The numeration of Henry's types currently used, and which is used below, is that set out by George Brooke in his *Norman Kings* catalogue, but the first detailed study of the reign was undertaken by W. J. Andrew in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1901.³ Andrew had proposed the following order of types (Brooke's numeration): I, II, III, VII, VIII, IV, V, VI, XII, IX, X, XI, XIII, XIV and XV. Andrew's thesis was severely criticized by G. C. Crump and Charles Johnson, of the Public Record Office, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1902.

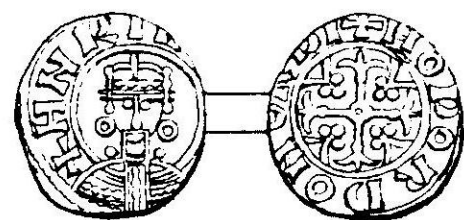
Brooke based his order of Norman types on an analysis of the evidence of finds, overstrikes, mules, changes of letter font, the evidence of mints and moneyers and certain documentary evidence. With a few exceptions his conclusions have stood the test of time well. He pointed out that the incision or snick in the edges of all coins of Henry I types VII to XII inclusive indicated that these types must form a block in the middle of the reign and that Andrew had failed to note that snicks did not normally occur on coins of types IV, V and VI which he

¹ M. M. Archibald, 'Medieval coins as dating evidence', *Coins and the Archaeologist*, edited by P. J. Casey and R. Reece (BAR British Series 4, Oxford, 1974), pp. 248–50.

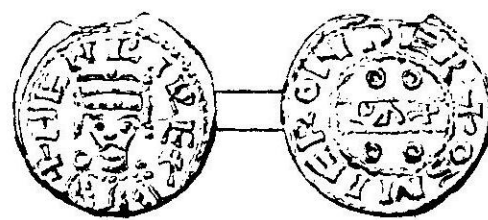
² M. M. Archibald, 'Coins', *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (Arts Council Exhibition, Hayward Gallery, London 1984), p. 320.

³ W. J. Andrew, 'A numismatic history of the reign of Henry I, 1100–1135', *Numismatic Chronicle* 4th Ser. 1 (1901), 1–515.

had placed between types VIII and XII.⁴ In fact, there is at least one coin of type VI which is snicked, a penny of Winchester from the Lincoln hoard, but it is possible this was snicked after the period of issue of the type.

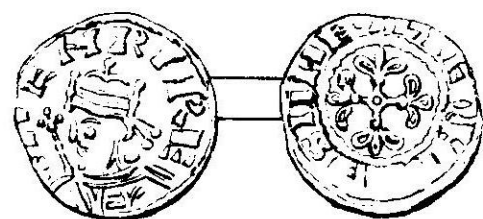


Type I

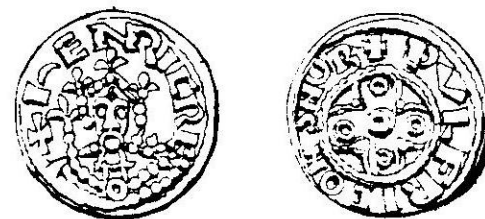


Type III

Type I is closely linked to the last type of William Rufus by the large flan and style of lettering, and both issues have a cross fleury reverse with piles in the angles, though the piles face inwards on Henry's coins and have triple pellets at their points instead of single pellets. Type V of William II is quite rare and it seems likely that Henry's type I was just a transitional variant of William's last type issued until the end of the cyclical coinage period. Types II and III are on a smaller flan and are linked to type IV by their short straight-sided lettering. It is possible that type III could follow type I as it is a 'Pax' type. The 'Pax' types of Edward the Confessor and of Harold II were the initial types of their reigns, the dating of the PAXS type in the name of a William has not been fixed with any degree of certainty, and Henry's 'Pax' issue could well be considered the first full cyclical issue of the reign. Sir Charles Oman suggested that Henry's PAX type was the second of the reign though for a different reason.⁵ There is an illegible I/II mule in the Fitzwilliam Museum, but as it is possibly a contemporary forgery it must be of doubtful relevance and further hoard evidence is needed before the order of types II and III can be firmly established.



Type II



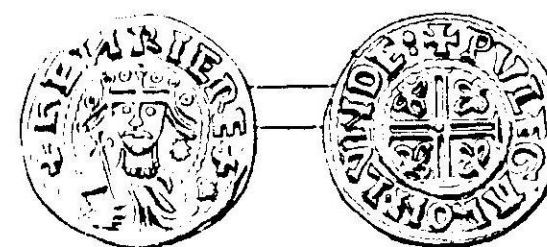
Type IV

A new hooked 'h' appears on type IV, replacing the Roman 'H' of earlier types, and this is continued on later issues. The engraving of the king's head on dies of type IV is extremely crude and dies of type V are obviously made by a far more competent die engraver who employed a new neat letter font with pronounced serifs and convex uprights. That

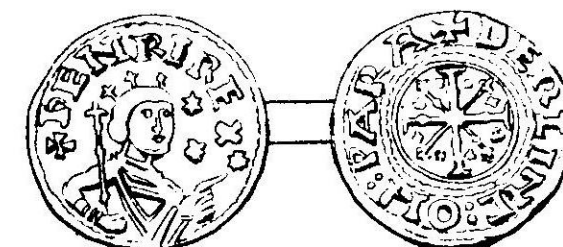
⁴ *BMC Norman Kings*, cxlviii, note 4.

⁵ Sir Charles Oman, *The Coinage of England* (Oxford, 1931), p. 95.

type V probably follows type IV is indicated by pennies of these two types being the only English coins present in the hoard of continental coins found at Bari, Italy, about 1891.⁶ The improved style found on coins of type V is continued on pennies of type VI and is also to be found on coins of type IX and some coins of type XI. What is more, whereas coins of types I, II and IV exhibit annulets as a distinctive part of their design, on pennies of types VI, IX and XI it is quatrefoils that form an important element of the design. A quatrefoil is also found on the odd coin of type V, e.g., the London penny of the moneyer Wulfgar (*BMC* 34, pl. XL,4) on which a quatrefoil is inserted at the end of the obverse inscription, and the penny of Elfwine of London (*BMC* 33) which has a quatrefoil as the head of the sceptre. Types V and VI are linked by the V/VI mule of Sperhavoc of Warwick (*BMC* pl. XL,5).

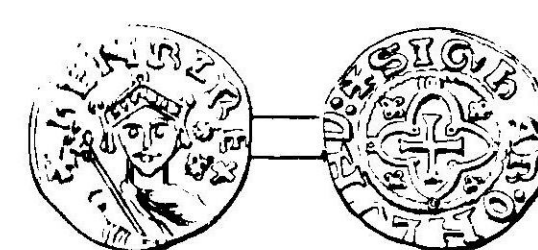


Type V

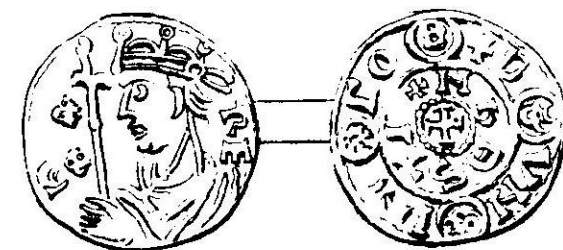


Type VI

On type VI the 'quatrefoil' diesinker achieved a remarkable *tour de force* with a three-quarter facing bust, hair moulded in waves surmounted by three lis, and an elegant elongated forefinger drawing attention to the three or four stars inserted above the king's shoulder, all very much in the style of 12th century manuscript illustration, whilst on the reverse a neat cross pattée, the limbs enhanced with bosses, has finely detailed quatrefoil-headed sceptres in the angles, each with a small star either side. Perhaps the engraver responsible had received his art training in an English or Norman monastic institution. Not all type VI dies are the work of the master engraver, some are from a far less proficient hand.



Type IX

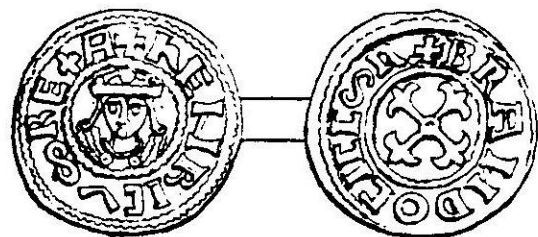


Type XI

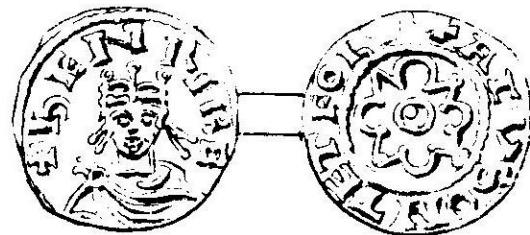
There are mules linking types IX and X and types X and XI, but Michael Dolley has persuasively argued that, as both reverses are of type X and as the reverse of a mule of the Norman period is normally

⁶ Sir John Evans, 'Coins of Henry I of England found in Italy', *NC* 3rd Ser. (1892), 81, 6.

the later type, the correct order of types should be IX, XI, X.⁷ Types IX and XI are both 'quatrefoil' types, type IX having a quatrefoil-headed sceptre and a quatrefoil to the right of the king's head, with quatrefoils in the spandrels of the quadrilobe on the reverse, and type XI having four quatrefoils in circles dividing the outer circle of the reverse inscription and sometimes quatrefoils as a decoration in the obverse field. Some of the type XI ('Double Inscription') obverse dies are of good style while others are of quite crude work. So the probable order of the four 'quatrefoil' types, each of which features a hand-held sceptre, would appear to be V, VI, IX and XI, followed by type X, as indicated by the XI/X mule of Burchart of Thetford (*BMC* pl. XLII,5). This sequence necessitates the removal of types VII and VIII to a point later in the series. Though there is no hoard or muling evidence to indicate a definite position for type VII, as the style of obverse 'portraiture' closely resembles that of type X, its logical place would seem to be immediately following that type. Types X and VII are the least rare of the types of Henry's middle period and Miss Archibald has suggested that this may indicate either an extended period of issue or greater minting activity at this time.⁸



Type X



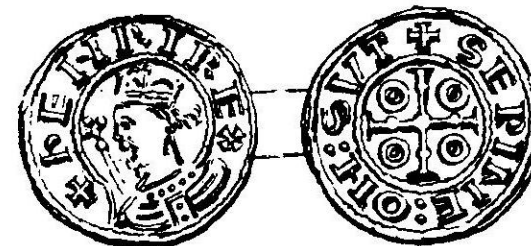
Type VII

Before dealing with the last three types of the reign, the sequence of which is scarcely to be disputed, types VIII and XII must be considered. The obverses of these two types are quite distinct from one another and the dies are of substantially different diameter, coins of type VIII measuring about 19 mm across the outer circle and those of type XII only 16 mm. On type VIII the king's bust extends to the outer circle and there is a sceptre in the field, and on type XII it is the King's crown that extends to the outer circle and a roundel surrounded by pellets replaces the sceptre. Nevertheless, despite these differences, it is remarkable that the reverses of these two types are virtually identical, both having a cross pattée with annulet centre and an annulet enclosing a pellet in each angle. On the larger coin the limbs of the cross are decorated with a boss but this is not always visible on a worn coin. Type XII exhibits new features in the engraving of the king's head, which is neatly contoured — except on a few (early?) coins the previous pellet eye is replaced with a raised curved line which delineates the upper and lower eyelids and sometimes indicates the pupil. Coins of type VIII are extremely rare, being known of only nine mints, whilst coins of type XII

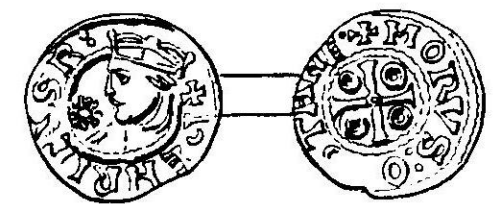
⁷ M. Dolley, *The Norman Conquest and the English Coinage* (London, 1966), pp. 23–25.

⁸ Archibald (1974), 248.

are less rare and are recorded for seventeen mints. Bearing in mind that for administrative purposes it was the reverse type that was important for purposes of recognition, obverses sometimes being difficult to distinguish, it is necessary to consider whether types VIII and XII may have been but two variants of one period of issue. Coins of type VIII have an average weight of 20.0 grains and those of type XII average only 18.8 grains. Was the chief engraver replaced shortly after type VIII had been introduced and was there, perhaps, some change in administration which called for a new look and a reduction in the size of dies, but which also led to a slackening of supervision? The last change of flan size during a period of issue was in Edward the Confessor's *Expanding Cross* type, though that coincided with a major change in weight standard.

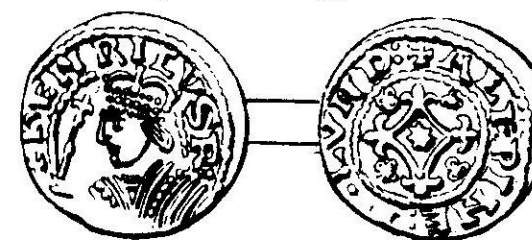


Type VIII

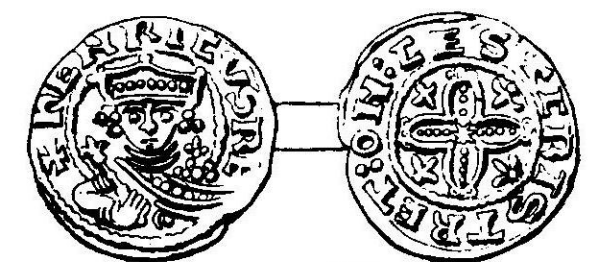


Type XII

The style of the king's bust and crown on type XIII is very similar to those of type XII, but with a return to a larger flan there is greater scope for a more elaborate treatment of the king's vestments. Types XIII and XIV are connected by the XIII/XIV mule of Godric of Romney (*BMC* pl. XLIII,15), but they are also linked by the star in the centre of the reverse and the associated trefoils (triple annulets), the latter in the angles of the lozenge fleury on type XIII and at the tips of the quadrilobe on type XIV. Types XIV and XV both exhibit a crown decorated with three fleur-de-lis which replaces the earlier crown of imperial style decorated with globules. The fleur-de-lis was an emblem of the Virgin Mary and perhaps its adoption for use on the king's regalia denotes royal approval of the growing Marian cult. Besides its use to decorate the reverse lozenge fleury on type XIII the fleur-de-lis also appears in the angles of the quadrilobe on type XIV and on the cross and lozenge of type XV. The pendulae of the crown on type XIV are decorated with triple pellets and one or two groups of triple pellets are also used to ornament the king's robes. These triple pellets also appear on coins of type XV though as the king's bust is set half-left only one pendula is visible. The number of hoards deposited in Stephen's reign containing coins of Henry I type XV supplies clear evidence that this was Henry's final type.

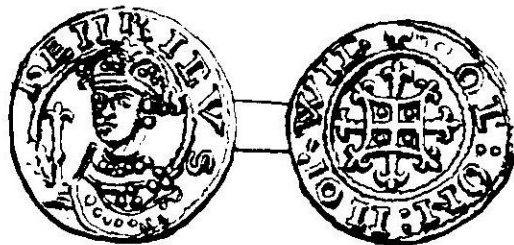


Type XIII



Type XIV

There are important changes in the epigraphy of the coinage during Henry's reign. Type I continues the tall sans-serif lettering of William II type V (Brooke's Series III lettering), and types III, II and IV have a much smaller sans-serif font (Brooke's Series IV). Brooke's Series V and VI lettering both have slightly convex uprights with serifs and the differences are marginal, though series V is the taller. The former occurs on types V, VI, IX, XI, X, VII and VIII, and the latter on types IX, XI, X, XII, XIII and XIV. Series VII lettering appears on types XIV and XV of Henry I and on the first two types of Stephen. As there is an overlapping of Series V and VI lettering in Henry's middle types the epigraphy does not seem to be critical for an ordering of those types.⁹



Type XV

Having considered the probable sequence of types we can now give some thought to their chronology. It is generally agreed that the ruthless mutilation of moneyers that took place on the king's orders at Winchester after Christmas 1124 should provide an important fixed point for dating the coinage, yet numismatists have been unable to reach a consensus on the length of the various issues (see Table 1). Andrew suggested the Assize of Moneyers took place after his twelfth issue (type XI).¹⁰ Brooke thought that the Assize followed the eleventh issue¹¹, and Oman believed the Assize came after the twelfth issue (XII). Dolley advocated a series of triennial issues with types IV and V combining to form one triennial period and his tenth and eleventh types (XI and X) being issued in another triennial period but separated by the 1124/5 Assize.¹² Miss Archibald has tentatively proposed a series of biennial issues up to type XII, then, after the Assize, the last three types spread over the final ten years of the reign.¹³ All these proposals have had the difficulty of not being able to demonstrate that there was a widespread change of moneyers following the Assize, though it has been suggested that many of the moneyers were fined and then allowed to continue working. Whilst certainty as to the exact number of moneyers that were mutilated may never be possible, the evidence of the early chronicles is clear — the majority of moneyers *were* punished.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, '... In this year King Henry sent to

⁹ *BMC Norman Kings*, I. pp. liii–liv and epigraphical table.

¹⁰ Andrew, op. cit., 76–81.

¹¹ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, 3rd ed. (London, 1950), p. 88.

¹² Dolley, op. cit., 27.

¹³ Archibald (1984), 329–33.

Table 1. The sequence and dating of the coin types of Henry I

	W. J. Andrew (1901)	R. H. M. Dolley (1966)	M. M. Archibald (1984)	Now proposed
1st type	I	I	I	I
2nd type	II	II	II	III
3rd type	III	III	III	II
4th type	VII	IV	IV	IV
5th type	VIII	V	V	V
6th type	IV	VI	VI	VI
7th type	V	VII	IX	IX
8th type	VI	VIII	VII	XI
9th type	XII	IX	VIII	X
10th type	IX	XI	XI	VII
11th type	X	X	X	VIII
12th type	XI	X	XII	XII
13th type	XIII	XIII	XIII	XIII
14th type	XIV	XIV	XIV	XIV
15th type	XV	XV	XV	XV

These chronologies are given as approximate and the underlining indicates the positioning of the Assize of the Moneyers. Brooke's *Norman Kings* numeration is used throughout.

England from Normandy before Christmas (1124), and ordered that all the moneyers who were in England should be mutilated — i.e. that each should lose the right hand and be castrated. That was because the man who had a pound could not get a pennyworth at market. And Bishop Roger of Salisbury sent all over England and ordered them all to come to Winchester at Christmas. When they got there, they were taken one by one and each deprived of the right hand, and castrated. All this was done before Twelfth Night, and it was done very justly because they had ruined all the country with their great false-dealing, which they all paid for.¹⁴ Florence of Worcester mentions that all the moneyers were summoned to the Christmas Court and ‘... those taken with counterfeit money were punished.’ The Winchester Annals reports that ‘... all the moneyers except three were mutilated at Winchester’, and the Margam Annals state that the number mutilated was ninety-four —

(MCXXIV ... *Monetarii autem numero xciv. jussu regis in Normannia consistentis iii dei Epiphaniae dextris truncati et genitalibus praecisi sunt apud Wintoniam* ...).¹⁵

This last account is very specific and cannot lightly be ignored.

The first hint of a possible solution to the problem of punished moneyers who do not appear to have been removed came in 1984 in an article by Mr David Walker entitled ‘A possible monetary crisis in the early 1130’s’.¹⁶ This drew attention to the fact that whilst 106 moneyers were recorded in *Norman Kings* for type XIV, from forty-six mints, only 72 moneyers, from a mere nineteen mints, were recorded for type XV, a much commoner type, and, stranger still, only eleven of those moneyers were recorded for both types. Was there a second culling of moneyers in the closing years of Henry’s reign? If so, it would have been very remarkable so soon after the gruesome happenings of Christmas 1124 and a repetition would hardly have been ignored by the chroniclers. Mr Walker’s observations were followed up by Mr J. D. Gomm, in an article entitled ‘Henry I chronology: the case for reappraisal’, in which he suggested that it was surely beyond coincidence that over 90 moneyers apparently disappear between types XIV and XV and that 94 moneyers are recorded as being mutilated according to the Margam Annals.¹⁷ ‘... The inescapable conclusion,’ he says, ‘is that the “two” crises can only have been one and the same’, with the implication that type XV, the last type of the reign, remained in issue for a period of ten years. Further, Mr Gomm points out that there is a marked deterioration in the general standard of workmanship in the striking of type XV coins which is what might be expected when experienced mintmasters had been removed.

¹⁴ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. and ed. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 191.

¹⁵ *Annales de Margan. Annales Monastici*, I, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (1864), p. 11.

¹⁶ *SCMB* no. 795 Nov. 1984, 284–6; also no. 802, July–Aug. 1985, 232–3.

¹⁷ *SCMB* no. 799, April 1985, 105–7; also no. 805, Nov. 1985, 365.

To date, taking recently found material into account, the writer has a note of 135 moneyers who struck type XIV and 90 who issued type XV, with only 23 moneyers who are known to have issued coins of both types. There are also a further three moneyers known to have struck type XV and types prior to type XIV for whom type XIV coins may yet turn up. If the ‘Dolley’ formula of a change of one in seven moneyers in a triennium is adapted to a figure of, say, one in twenty per annum, then, assuming a biennial coinage cycle until the end of type XIV, it can be projected that in the ordinary course of events over the period of the issue of type XIV about one in ten moneyers might have ceased operating through death or retirement, i.e. thirteen moneyers. So 36 moneyers (23+13) can be subtracted from 135 to give a figure of 99 moneyers who are unaccounted for after type XIV. This is not greatly different from the figure of the 94 mutilated moneyers mentioned by the Margam Annals. This difference might be even closer if allowance is made for a few moneyers who may have had an inkling of trouble to come and discovered that they had urgent business overseas at short notice! One example may be Tochi ‘the counterfeiter’ (*falsionarius*) who had fled, leaving Osbert the palmer to pay a fine and account for fifteen marks of silver at the Exchequer in 1130.¹⁸ Another is the unnamed moneyer, presumably of Wallingford, who had fled to Normandy and in respect of whom a penalty of £8.1s.8d. was accounted for in 1130 by Baldwin fitz Clare, a former sheriff of Berkshire.¹⁹

Substantiating the accounts of the chronicles regarding the punishment of moneyers is an important writ issued by King Henry from Rouen in the autumn of 1125. It is addressed to Everard, bishop of Norwich, to the effect that ‘... the Abbot of St. Edmunds is to have in the vill of St. Edmund his mint and his moneyer and his right of changing money (*monetam et monetarium et cambium*) as heretofore, after justice has been done upon his moneyer, as it has been done upon the other moneyers of England.’²⁰ Bearing in mind the king’s writ to the sheriff of York soon after his accession commanding that Archbishop Gerard of York should have all rights of justice over his own moneyers,²¹ perhaps it can be inferred that some moneyers were remanded to the courts of their ecclesiastical lords for sentencing. Indeed, a more detailed study of those moneyers who survived type XIV to strike coins of type XV and those moneyers or their relations or guarantors whose balance of fines are accounted for in the 1130 Pipe Roll may bring out valuable data concerning the administration of justice at this time.

The London moneyers of Henry I provide additional data for an

¹⁸ *Pipe Roll* 31 Henry I, p. 113. This is entered under the returns for Lincolnshire, but it is possible that the entry refers to the York moneyer Toc (Tochi or Toki?) who is known for types XIV and XV, though an unconfirmed and possibly misattributed ‘Toc’ has been given for type X at Lincoln (*vide BMC Norman Kings*, I, p. ccxxi).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122. Baldwin fitz Clare was sheriff until 1127.

²⁰ *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (hereafter *RRAN*), II, no. 1430: dated to 1125, Oct?.

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 518.

assessment of the likely period of issue of type XV. Listed below are the number of moneyers known for the fifteen types, together with the number that could be expected if present gaps in the list of those recorded were to be filled:

Types														
I	III	II	IV	V	VI	IX	XI	X	VII	VIII +XII	XIII	XIV	XV	
Numbers known														
10	5	7	7	8	6	7	8	12	14	5	12	13	18	
Numbers expected														
10	9	10	11	11	12	12	13	14	14	11	12	13	18	

It will be seen that early in the reign the normal complement of London moneyers was probably ten increasing to twelve, possibly in type VI, but that the number recorded suddenly increases to eighteen in type XV. It could be argued that, besides new appointments to replace mutilated and dismissed moneyers, extra numbers were employed for some reason. However, in view of the other evidence, it may be more logical to suggest that it was the longer period of issue of type XV that accounts for the increase of moneyers for that type and the number of moneyers active at any one time remained constant at twelve. If the formula of an annual turnover of one moneyer in twenty is applied to the ten years 1125–1135 the result is:

$$12 \times \frac{1}{20} \times 10 = 6 \text{ new moneyers}$$

Therefore the total number of moneyers that might be expected for type XV is $12 + 6 = 18$, the number actually recorded.

If, as suggested above, type I continued a coinage period that commenced with William II type V, if types VIII and XII together formed another coinage issue, and if type XIV was in issue at the time of the 1124/5 Assize, then it is possible to accommodate the first fourteen types of Henry I within thirteen biennial periods, leaving type XV as a *type immobilisée* for the remainder of the reign. Such a rearrangement of the sequence of Henry's coin types and a revision of their estimated length of issue would give a tentative chronology as follows (S=snicked types):

I	1100–01	VI	1109–11	VIII	1119–20(S)
III	1101?–03?	IX	1111–13(S)	XII	1120–21(S)
II	1103?–05?	XI	1113–15(S)	XIII	1121–23
IV	1105–07	X	1115–15(S)	XIV	1123–25
V	1107–09	VII	1117–19(S)	XV	1125–35

The evidence of some of the moneyers and mints appears to support a revised chronology. For instance, the statement in the Winchester Annals that 'all the moneyers except three were mutilated' takes on a new significance when it is seen that only *three* of the seven Winchester moneyers striking type XIV continued to be active in type XV, i.e., Alfric, Godwine and Saiset, and, of these, Alfric and Saiset were still in debt to the Exchequer in 1130.²² At Bury St Edmunds the king retained

²² Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, p. 40.

the abbey's temporalities in his own hands for a number of years and no Henry I Bury coins are known for certain prior to type XIII.²³ The abbacy had been left vacant from 1107 to 1114 and though Alebold of Jerusalem was elected in the latter year it is not known if he received dies for a moneyer before his death in 1119.²⁴ Again, there was a vacancy for two years until Anselm, the nephew of Archbishop Anselm, was elected in 1121. Abbot Anselm presumably received dies for his moneyer(s) following his consecration as two Bury moneyers, Godric and Odde, are known for types XIII and XIV, now tentatively dated 1121–23 and 1123–25.²⁵ Then, as noted above, following the events of 1124/5 the abbot's rights to a moneyer and mint were confirmed, but only after his moneyer had been punished. The moneyers Godric and Odde do not appear in type XV but are replaced by a new moneyer, Gillebert, though an Odde does appear at the neighbouring mint of Thetford in this type. Similarly, at Bath, another ecclesiastical mint, no moneyer is known for Henry's earlier years but Winterlede is recorded for types XIII and XIV only, possibly taking office following the election of Godfrey, Queen Matilda's chaplain, to the see of Bath and Wells in 1123.²⁶

The fact that four of the thirteen Henry I hoards were deposited during the period of Henry's last type would seem to support a long issue period for that type, and of the Stephen hoards containing coins of Henry I it is only the Watford and the 'Beauvais' hoards that have more than the stray coin issued before type XV (see Table 2). The 1910 hoard from Pré-Saint-Evroult (Eure-et-Loir) is particularly interesting as it is believed that it may have been deposited about 1132 at the time that the castle of Bonneval was burnt by Louis VI in his campaign against Count Theobald of Blois.²⁷ It contained, principally, deniers of Châteaudun and Chartres but there were also 55 pennies of Henry I, all of type XV except one coin of type XIV, suggesting that type XV could have been in issue for some time prior to 1132.

Students of Norman coinage have been aware of the account in Book IV of Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* regarding debased and forged

²³ Henry confirmed a moneyer and mint to St Edmund 'as in the time of William I and as William II confirmed by writ' (RRAN, II, no. 760), possibly in August 1107 at the time Abbot Robert II was consecrated or before his death in September of that year.

²⁴ It is uncertain whether a penny of type X from the Lincoln hoard reading GODRIC ON SAN should be attributed to Bury St Edmunds or to the mint of Sandwich.

²⁵ Stephen granted a second die to the abbey (RRAN, III, no. 762), perhaps restoring a two moneyer status enjoyed for a few years in Henry's reign. He later granted the abbot a third die (RRAN, III, no. 263).

²⁶ Though Bath was held by William I in 1086, with the mint paying a geld of 100s., the city was granted to St Peter of Bath and Bishop John and his successors by William II in 1090, 'with all customs, a mint and toll' (RRAN, I, no. 326). Henry I renewed and confirmed his brother's charter in 1101 (RRAN, II, no. 544).

²⁷ J. Duplessy, 'Le trésor de Pré-Saint-Evroult', *Trésors monétaires* III (Paris, 1981), 87–102 and pl. xv–xxi; also, *Les Trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France*, I (Paris, 1985), p. 102 (no. 264).

Table 2. Hoards containing coins of Henry I

[illegible]

² About 1948 the late Mr Roland Kent, solicitor, of Reading, informed the writer that he had been told that the relatively common type XIII coins of the Wallingford mint, of which he had a specimen, came from a small hoard found in the last century in or near Whitchurch, Oxon.

coinage and the king's decision to reform it with such vigour that 'no forger should be saved by any ransom but the loss of his eyes and mutilation', and the entry goes on to describe the order to snick coins and the benefit to the kingdom of these measures.²⁹ This reform has usually been dated to the year 1108 as Eadmer's fourth book was taken down to the death of Anselm in 1109, but there seems to be little metrological evidence for any reform of the coinage at this date.³⁰ The date '(1108)' appears in the Rolls edition of Eadmer, but it is only inserted as an editorial marginal annotation several paragraphs in advance of the entry concerning the coinage. Professor R. W. Southern, in his critique of Eadmer, suggests that Eadmer's first four Books, of which no original version exists, were compiled between the years 1109 and 1115 and that alterations were made and new material was inserted when the work was taken up again in 1119.³¹ It could be argued that further evidence is needed before a currency reform of '1108' can be established.

It may be relevant that the least rare of Henry's middle types, type X (dated here to c. 1115-7), demonstrates a widely fluctuating weight pattern, with 20% of the coins weighing less than 18 grains and only 15% attaining 21 grains (see Fig. 1).³² In type VII, which it is now suggested should follow type X, there is a marked improvement with only 4% of coins below 18 grains and 53% at 21 grains or more. The relative frequency of pennies of types X and VII can probably be accounted for by the heavy taxation that was imposed to pay for the war with France, complaints about which occur in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entries for the years 1116-8, and the improvement in weight in type VII may have resulted from criticism voiced by Henry's mercenary troops, though their main complaint seems to have been about debasement of coin with tin.³³ It is possible that the rarity of the two following types, VIII and XII, may have been the result of financial exhaustion and temporary shortage of bullion. Even though the 'snicking' of coins appears to have been introduced c. 1111 it seems as if tighter controls against fraudulent moneyers were instituted about 1117. Later in the reign approximately 12% of type XIII pennies and 23% of type XIV are below 18 grains weight, whilst the percentage reaching 21 grains is merely 24% and 25% respectively (see Fig. 2). The picture changes dramatically in type XV, with only 4% of coins being below 18 grains

¹⁰⁰ *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule, Rolls Series (London, 1884), p. 193.

³⁰ An analysis of the metal content of coins of types IV, V and VI has not yet been attempted on account of their rarity, but there seem to be more light weight pennies of type V than there are of types IV and VI.

¹¹ R. W. Southern, *S. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 298–300.

¹⁰ D. M. Metcalf and F. Schweizer, 'The metal content of silver pennies of William II and Henry I (1087-1135)', *Archaeometry* 13, 2 (1971), 177-90. Of fifteen Henry I coins of various types analysed, three had a base metal content of 11.5% or more, one each of types I, II and X.

¹¹ William de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. J. Marx, Paris, 1914.

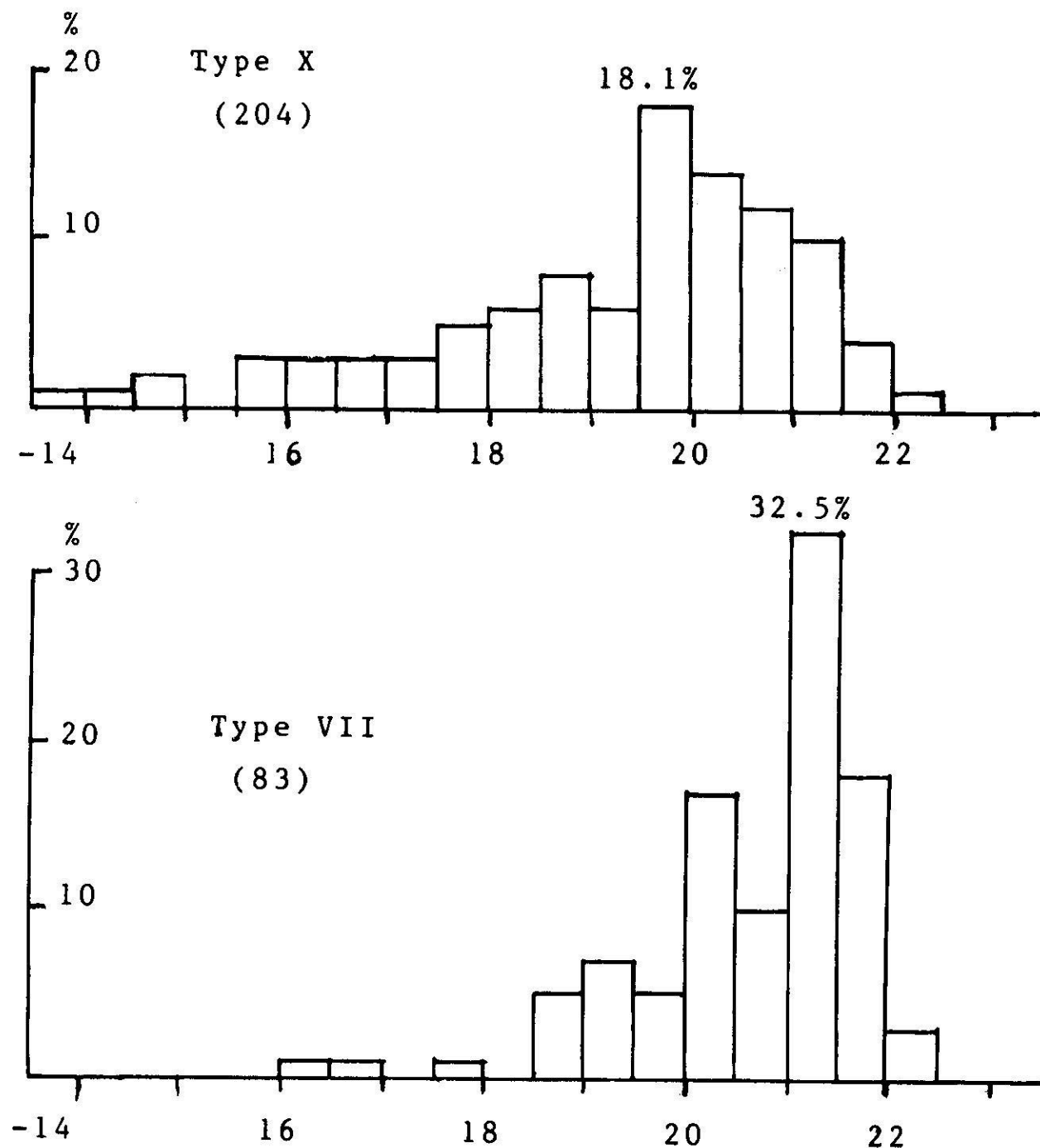


FIG. 1. Weights for types X and VII in grains (intervals of 0.5 gr., sample number in parentheses)

but 63% reaching 21 grains or more — a transformation that can be readily accounted for if type XV was introduced following the severe penalties that were imposed on the moneyers in 1124/5.

With one or two minor differences the distribution map of the mints issuing type XV bears a striking resemblance to that of the mid-1160s, i.e., once the main 'Tealby' recoinage had been completed. After 1124/5 the number of mints was drastically reduced from the fifty-one that were working in type XIV to a mere twenty-four. With every mint closed between the South Foreland and the Solent it is clear that the mints of London, Canterbury, Winchester and Exeter must have coped with the

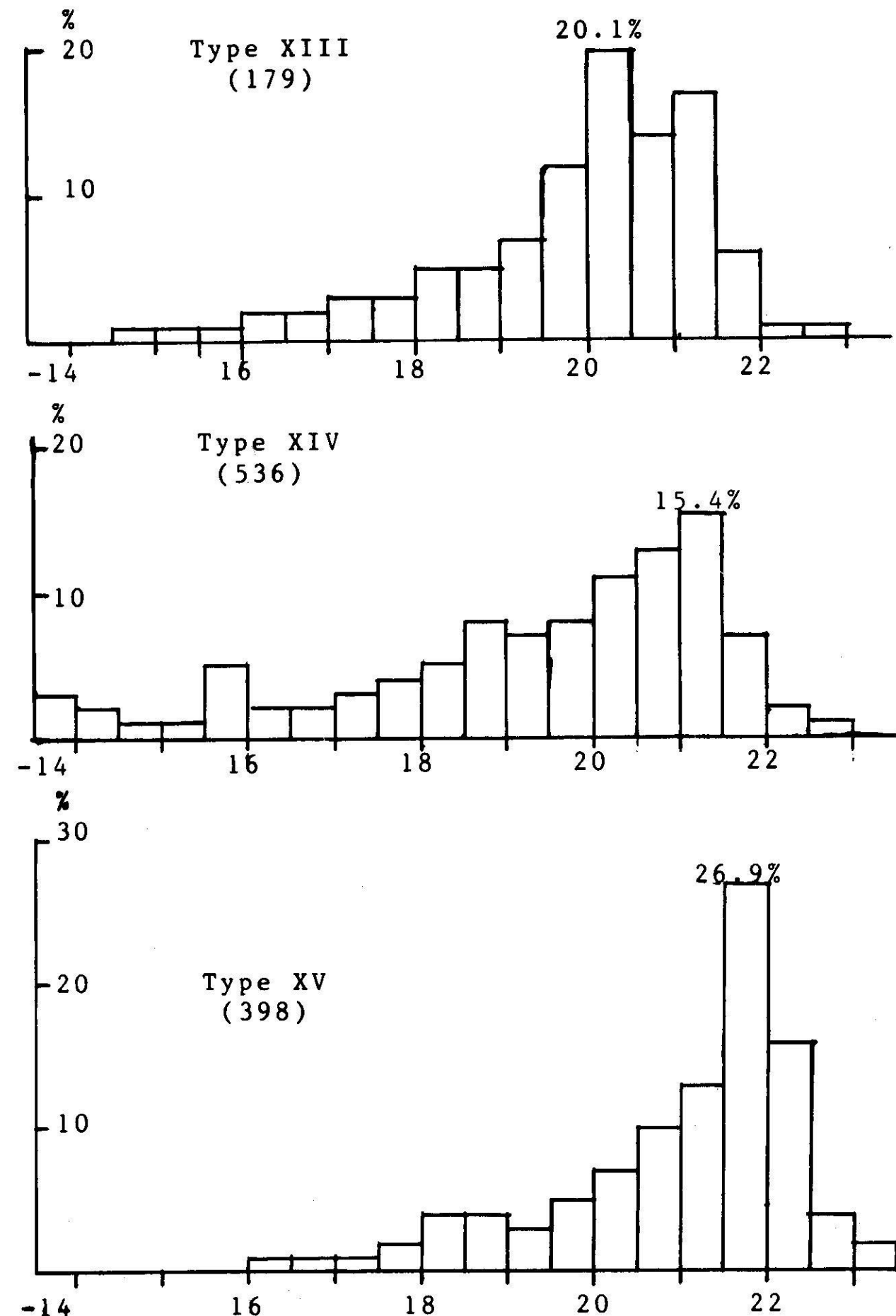
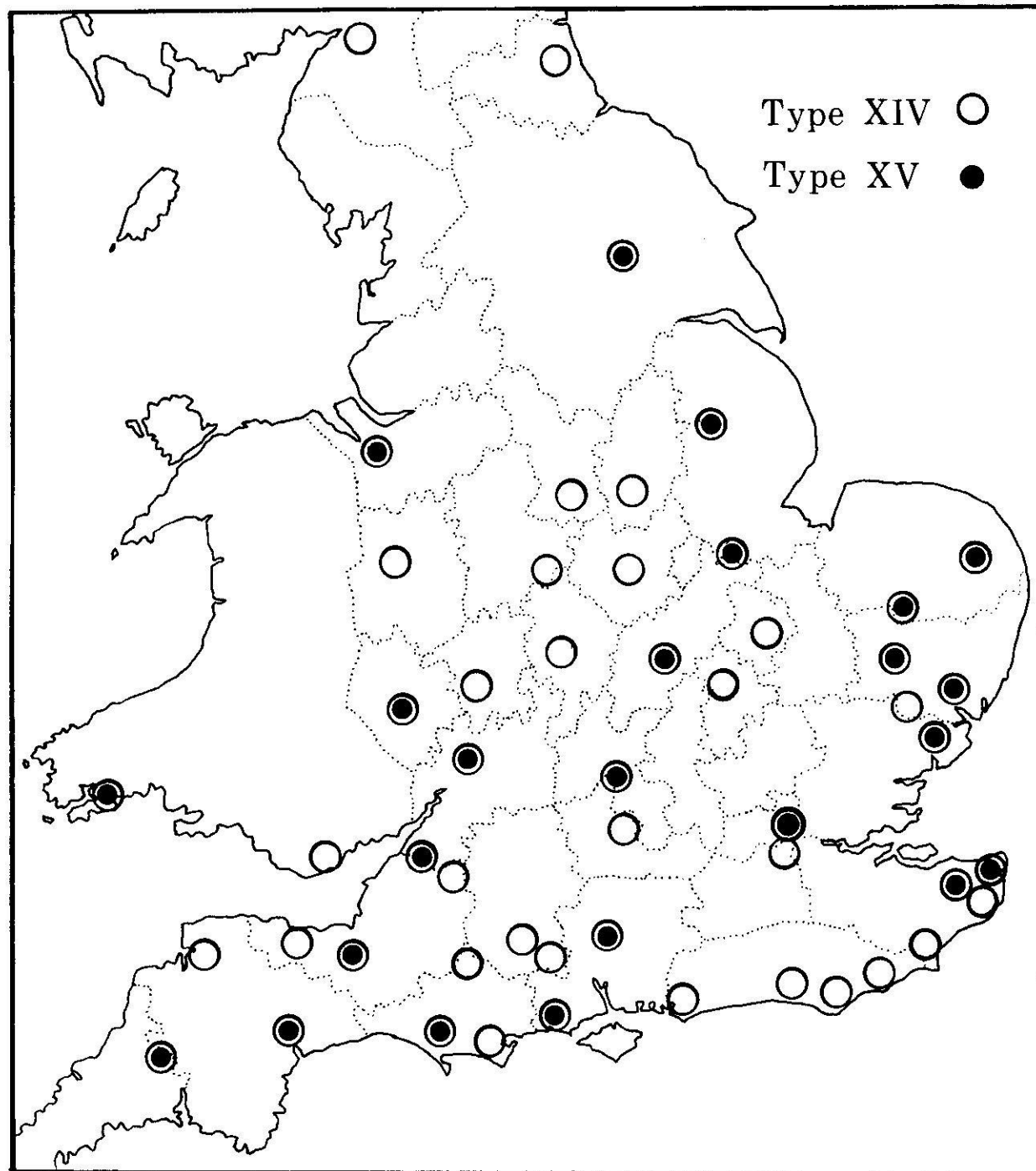


FIG. 2. Weights for types XIII, XIV and XV in grains (intervals of 0.5 gr., sample number in parentheses).



Map: The mints of Henry I, types XIV and XV.

bulk of foreign silver imported in the course of cross-Channel trade. A policy of mint closures following punitive action against the moneyers may have been taken with a view to more adequate supervision of the coinage nationwide, though it may not have been such a deliberate attempt at centralization as occurred under Henry II. A major change in the administrative control of coinage production, one aspect of which was the introduction of an immobilized type, would appear less unexpected under a monarch such as Henry I than it would under the government of his successor; but it now need occasion no surprise that Stephen's first coinage should have continued for a period of over ten

years as did Henry's last type. If the proposition that there was a biennial change of type during the first quarter of the twelfth century is acceptable then there may be grounds for re-examining the coinage of the first two Norman kings, hopefully to determine at what point the triennial type change of Edward the Confessor was abandoned in favour of a shorter period (but see now D. M. Metcalf, 'Notes on the "PAXS" type of William I', earlier in this volume at p. 13).³⁴

The writer would like to thank the number of people with whom he has discussed aspects of this paper or who have kindly read drafts at one stage or another, especially Miss Marion Archibald, Robin Eaglen, J. D. Gomm, Dr Michael Metcalf, Dr Ian Stewart and David R. Walker; but he would not wish to imply that they necessarily agree with the views here expressed, some of which, for the present, must remain controversial in the absence of adequate hoard material.

POSTSCRIPT

As this paper goes to press there has appeared the revue of *Der Münzfund von Kose aus dem zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts* by Ivar Leimus, in *BNJ* 56 (1986), 197–8. This hoard of 1,723 coins from Kose in northern Estonia includes 135 Anglo-Saxon and 33 Anglo-Norman coins, the latest of which are five pennies of Henry I type XIII, which had been dated by Dolley to c. 1128–31 (see Table 2). The latest amongst the large number of German coins in the hoard are denars of the Emperor Henry V (1111–25) and of Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz (1111–31), so the revised dating suggested above for type XIII, c. 1121–3, does not conflict with the evidence of the continental portions of the hoard and it may be appropriate to move the *terminus post quem* for deposition earlier by some seven years or so.

³⁴ Archibald (1984), pp. 320 and 327–8, no. 396. Suggesting a possible alternative to Dolley's proposed biennial cycle for the coinage of William I, i.e., that there may have been a triennial cycle, with the PAXS type being the first type of William II.

A Civil War Hoard from Breckenbrough, North Yorkshire

EDWARD BESLY

On 11 June 1985, Mr C. Greensit and Mr B. Robinson were levelling ground in a covered stockyard at Castle Farm, Breckenbrough, near Kirby Wiske, when they uncovered one of the most important coin hoards from the English Civil War period found this century. It consists of 30 gold and 1,552 silver coins, with two paper receipts, contained in a green-glazed jug (Fig. 1). The whole had been covered by a tile and its position alongside a perimeter wall of the farm marked by a large stone. The hoard was the subject of a coroner's inquest at Thirsk on 25 September 1985, when the coins and receipts were found to be Treasure Trove and were sent to the British Museum for detailed examination. They have since been purchased by the Yorkshire Museum.¹

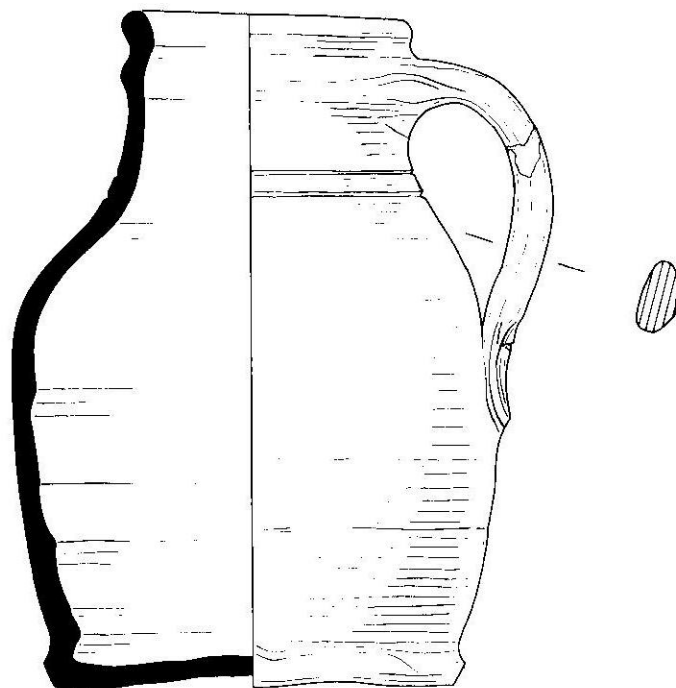
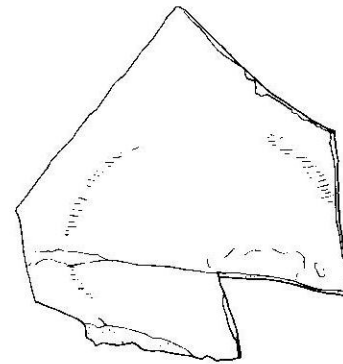
The gold coins are all of the crown gold (22 ct) standard, the earliest being a half pound of Elizabeth I. Five unites and two Britain crowns (2) of James I were struck between 1603 and 1618: originally tariffed at twenty shillings, the unite was raised to 22s in 1611 and the crown from 5s to 5s 6d. In 1619 the weight of the gold coinage was reduced and coins of twenty shillings reintroduced; these were the laurels (3), of which the hoard contains five, with one each of the half- and quarter-laurels. Charles I's gold continued the laurel standard, but his 20s coin was once again known as the unite (4, 5). The hoard contains six, together with three double crowns (each 10s) (6) and two crowns (each 5s) (7). The latest gold coin was struck in 1639–40, but most are from early in the reign, when the bulk of Charles' gold coinage was produced. Two Scots coins of James VI and I complete the gold element: a unit (8) and a double crown (9) from the 2nd coinage, which started in 1609. Initially tariffed at £12 and £6 Scots, they were exactly equivalent to James' English unite and its half. The gold coins form a substantial hoard on their own, accounting for nearly a quarter of the value of the whole. Gold hoards of the period are rare and mostly from south east England, though another Yorkshire example is known from Sowerby.²

The silver may be summarised as follows:³

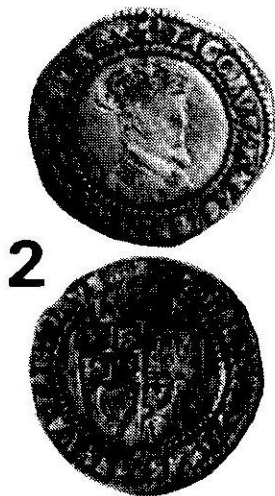
¹ The pot, not covered by Treasure Trove, was given by Mr Greensit to Syon Hill Hall, the local museum whose curator Mr T. Gadsby reported on the find for the local coroner. The drawing, kindly supplied by Ailsa Mainman, is by Anne Thomas of the York Archaeological Trust.

² The Sowerby hoard, found in 1878, was sold in Spink Auction 50, 7 March 1987, lots 690–709.

³ Full details published in E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, British Museum, 1987 (in press at time of writing).



1



2



3



PLATE I

	2/6d	1/-	6d	4d	3d
ENGLAND:					
Henry VII	—	—	—	1	—
Edward VI	—	6	2	—	—
Mary	—	—	—	48	—
Philip & Mary	—	7	3	16	—
Elizabeth I	—	218	387	28	5
James I	2	124	71	—	—
Charles I:					
Tower	93	366	68	—	—
Aberystwyth	3	1	—	—	—
York	5	5	—	—	—

SCOTS: pre-Union

James VI: merks (17); ½-merks (2); ¼-merks (2)

post-Union

James VI & I: 30/- (3); 12/- (3)

Charles I: 30/- (4); 12/- (2)

IRISH:

Elizabeth I: 1/- (1)

James I: 1/- (25); 6d (9)

CONTINENTAL:

Spanish Netherlands, Albert & Isabella (1598–1621) ¼-patagon (1)

Philip IV (1621–65), ducats (7); ½-ducatons (3); patagon (1)

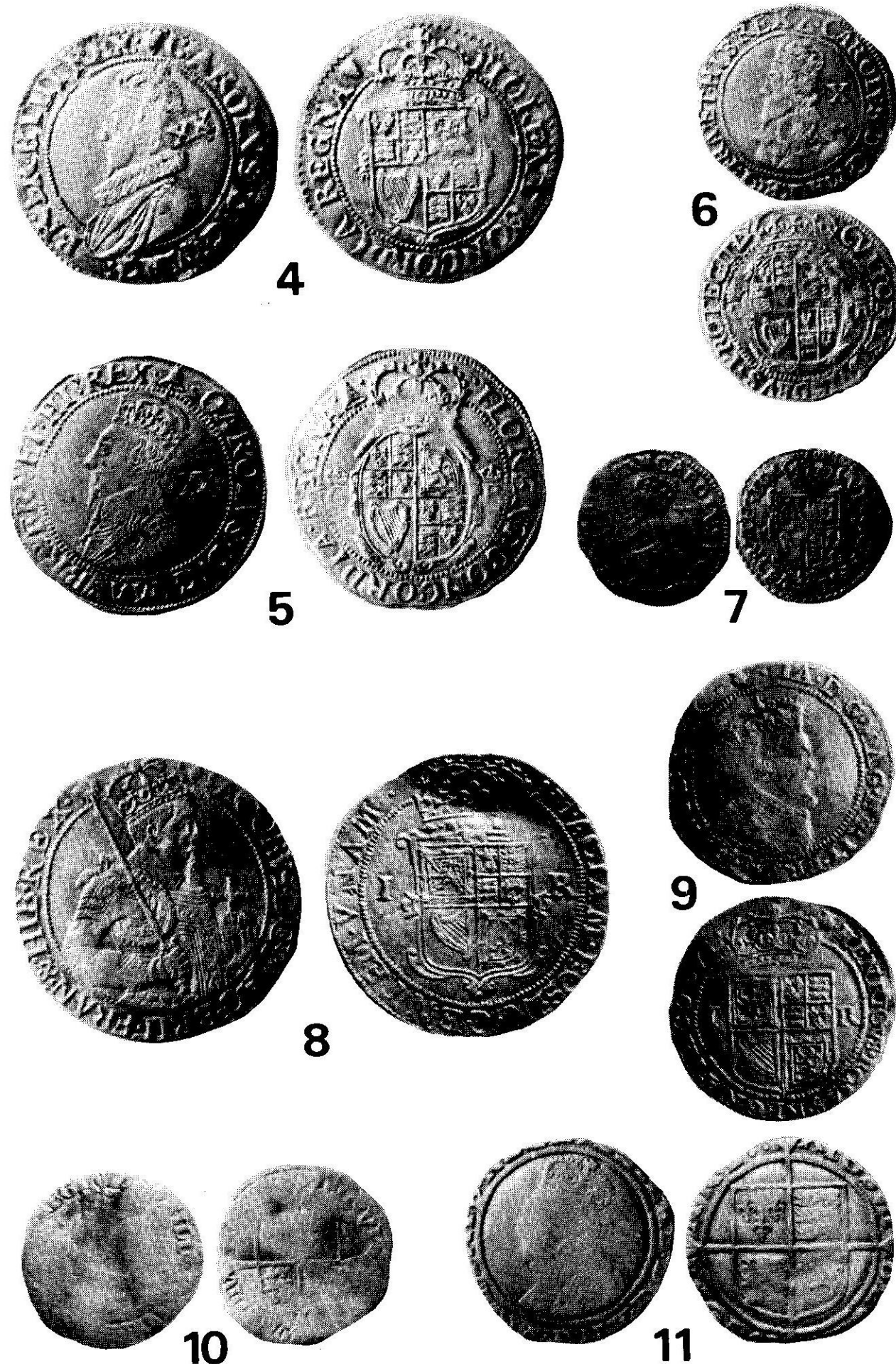
Liège, Ernest of Bavaria (1581–1612), teston (1)

FORGERIES:

of English halfcrowns (4), shillings (8)

The distribution of English coins is typical of the many Civil War period hoards: one groat of Henry VII, a survivor from before the great debasements of Henry VIII and Edward VI; small numbers of fine silver coins of Edward VI, Mary and Philip and Mary; and many Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, reflecting the output of the sole English mint (the Tower of London) during the period 1560–1640. The Tudor groats and threepences are almost all heavily worn (10). They were important in everyday transactions, but no fresh groats were produced between 1561 and 1639, or threepences from 1583 until 1639. Forty percent of the Elizabethan shillings were struck in the two years 1560–61, the great recoinage of the base money, when as a matter of minting convenience almost all of the output consisted of shillings. Thereafter the Mint concentrated on sixpences and smaller coins better suited to everyday use; shillings were not again produced in quantity until 1583 (11). The coins of James I come mainly from the beginning of his reign, after which little silver was coined until the 1630's. The Mint's prices offered for gold and silver were out of line with Europe, which had the effect of attracting silver abroad.⁴ Silver output only rose again after 1631, when

⁴ Conversely, the Mint's gold output was substantial: see J. D. Gould, 'The Royal Mint in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Review*, 2nd series 5 (1952–3), pp. 240–48.



an agreement with Spain led to the coining of large amounts of Spanish-American silver in London. The coined Spanish silver went into English circulation, paid for with bills of exchange ultimately honoured on the Continent.⁵ The arrangement continued into the Civil War period, when melted-down silver plate also boosted production during 1642–44. The latest Tower coins in the hoard are four shillings marked (P), the privy-mark in use during 1643–44 (12). As in two other major Yorkshire hoards, from Wyke (Bradford) and Thorpe Willoughby, the Tower coins in the Breckenbrough deposit end weakly, but the issues of 1639–41 are strongly represented, perhaps due to the influx of military pay locally during the Bishops' Wars. Little fresh coinage seems to have reached the area after 1643, despite the presence of large Parliamentary armies in 1644; this is echoed in the problems of paying the Scots army in May 1644 and the 'want of money' complained of by Lord Fairfax besieging York in June 1644.⁶

The hoard also contains four coins from the branch mint of Aberystwyth, established in 1638 to coin newly-mined Welsh silver (13). Its output was small, but its value to the King incalculable when in September 1642 its staff and equipment moved to Shrewsbury (where its products helped to finance the Edgehill campaign) and thence to Oxford, the King's wartime headquarters, at the end of the year.⁷ Of greater local interest are the ten coins from the royalist mint at York (14–15), active in 1643–44. Early in 1642, Charles fled London and established his Court at York. Steps to set up a mint there were frustrated first by an illness of the King's engraver Nicholas Briot in May 1642 and then by the seizure off Scarborough of the equipment destined for the mint, by a naval officer sympathetic to Parliament, on 15 July 1642, the very day that a warrant was issued under the Great Seal authorising the erecting of the York mint. Production seems finally to have got under way in January 1643 at Sir Henry Jenkins' house in the Minster Yard, using a mechanical process familiar on the Continent but not otherwise used for precious metal coinage in England: strips of metal were squeezed between steel rollers, each of which bore several engraved dies, mounted in a machine rather like a mangle. The resulting coins were cut from the strip using shears (14) or a circular punch (15) and many have burred edges showing evidence of the latter process.⁸

There are also a number of 'foreign' coins: Scots, Irish and Continental. Some of the Scots coins of James VI/I and Charles I were identical in standard and design to the English and (allowing for a 12:1 exchange rate) circulated at par: 30/- Scots as an English halfcrown (17), 12/- Scots

⁵ Probably in gold, to judge by the dramatic decline in Mint output of the metal as Charles I's reign progressed and its scarcity in Civil War hoards.

⁶ P. Wenham, *The Great and Close Siege of York* (Kineton, 1970), pp. 22, 24 (Scots); 75–6 (Fairfax).

⁷ G. C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981).

⁸ E. Besly, 'The York Mint of Charles I', *BNJ* 54 (1984), pp. 210–41. The mint building (St William's College) still stands.

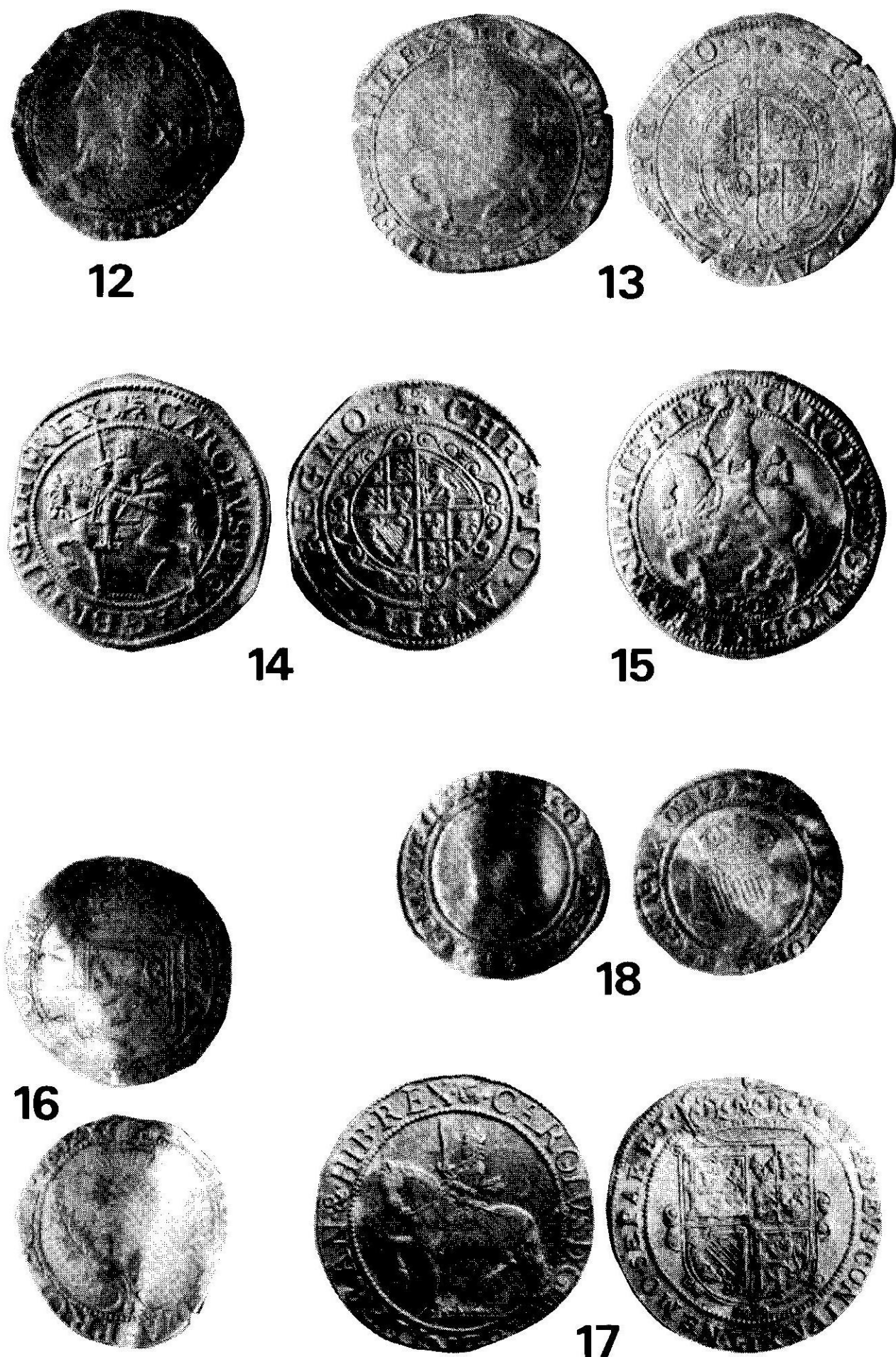


PLATE III

as an English shilling. The thistle merks (13s 4d Scots) and their fractions come from the Scots coinage of 1601–4, the money brought to England by James and his retinue and proclaimed legal tender in England on 8 April 1603, with the merks at the awkward figure of 1s 1½d (16). Of the coins struck in London for Irish circulation, the fine shilling of Elizabeth I is a rarity in English hoards, but the coins of James I produced between 1604 and 1607 occur fairly frequently: these were the same fineness as English coins, but only three-quarters of their weight, so the shilling circulated in England at 9d (18), the sixpences at 4½d. Scots and Irish coins were clearly mistrusted, passed rapidly from hand to hand (they are usually heavily worn compared to English coins of the same date) and are almost invariably bent, a simple test to check the quality of the metal.

Continental coins are less common. The 12 Spanish Netherlands coins are mainly silver ducats and their halves, of Philip IV from Brabant and Flanders. The ducaton (19) was a large silver coin proclaimed legal tender by the royalists at 5s 6d, its true intrinsic value.⁹ At the outset of the war, the royalists had high hopes of supplies from Europe, where the Queen was busy drumming up support in the Netherlands. Until Bristol was captured in July 1643, the northeastern ports were among the few controlled by the King's party and were thus crucial channels for these supplies. The Queen herself arrived at Bridlington at the end of February 1643 with much material, probably including coin. This may have passed into circulation, but was more probably recoined at York. Another passing reference to Continental supply is perhaps more relevant here: in October 1642 the Earl of Newcastle, at Newcastle, received *inter alia* a 'little barrel of ducatoons' worth about £500.¹⁰ Since the York mint was probably not working by then, Newcastle is likely to have distributed these, and perhaps other consignments, to his men (something similar is attested at Shrewsbury). Seven ducats and three halves at Breckenbrough, another ducaton in the Wyke (Bradford) hoard and the 'dollars' mentioned in 19th century accounts of hoards from Newby Wiske and Pocklington may all be related ultimately to payments by the royalist army early in the war. The Continental coins are completed by a silver patagon of Philip IV from the Franche-Comté (Burgundy), another type proclaimed legal tender by the royalists (at 4s 6d), a ¼-patagon from Flanders and a base silver teston from Liège, which bears no relationship to the English monetary system whatever.

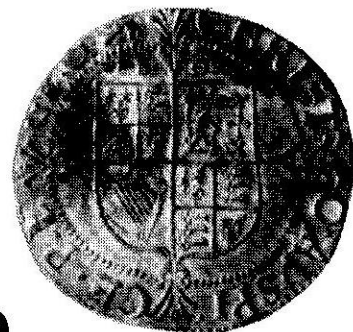
Twelve coins (about 1% of the hoard's face value) are counterfeit. Five were cast from genuine originals and would have been hard to recognize as false. The remainder were struck using home-made dies. Seven have been analysed: their silver contents range from 58% to 95%, the upper figure lying above the official fineness of 92.5%. However, the

⁹ A proclamation of 4 March 1644 (NS) issued at Oxford included ducats at this figure: J. F. Larkin (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations Vol. II ... King Charles I, 1625–1646* (Oxford, 1983), no. 474.

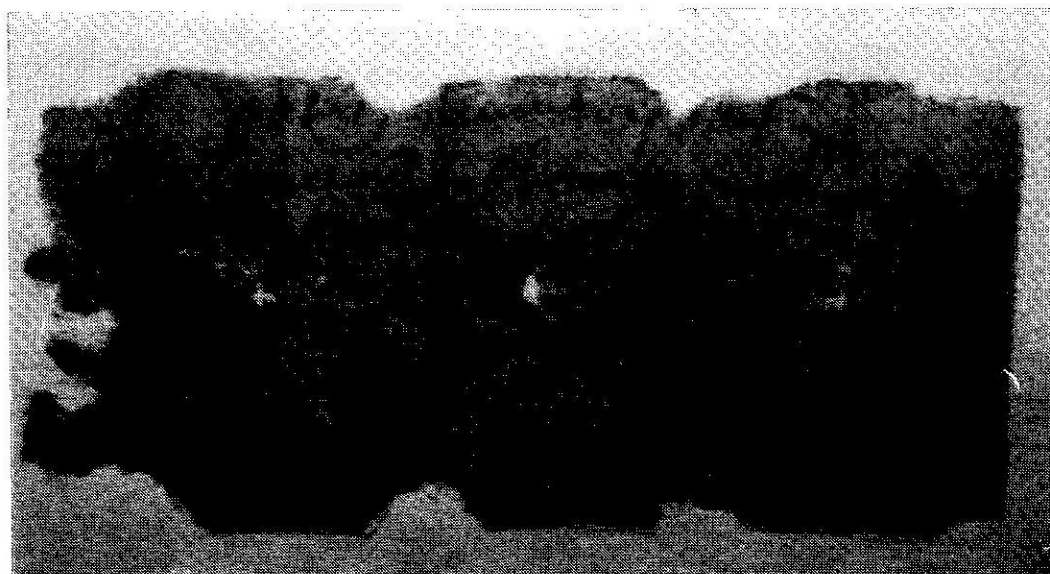
¹⁰ Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle ...*, ed. C. H. Firth (London, 1886), p. 22.



19



20



21

finer coins are of very light weight, so in every case the forger stood to make a good profit if his products were passed at face value (20). Clipping metal from the edges of coins was another common fraud: it seems that by 1640 most surviving Elizabethan shillings had suffered to some degree (11), partly encouraged by a slight reduction of the standard weight in 1601. Clipping of James I and Charles I coins varies widely: some southern hoarders were able to save unclipped coins, but Breckenbrough shows the highest proportion of clipping in any recorded hoard: 38% of James I shillings, 28% of Charles I shillings and 20% of the latter's halfcrowns have suffered. Clipping is also above average (though less severe) in the Wyke (Bradford) hoard. Although a small sample, these two hoards hint that Yorkshire's 18th century reputation for coining and clipping may have been established somewhat earlier. The South Yorkshire yeoman Adam Eyre, writing in 1647, makes several references to the discounting of light and counterfeit coins in local transactions.¹¹

The Receipts and the Context of the Hoard

Remarkably, two folded strips of paper survived in the pot with the hoard and were spotted by the sharp-eyed finders (21). These were cleaned and mounted by Mr M. Ashcroft, the North Yorkshire Archivist, and proved to be receipts for cheese requisitioned on '17 January 1643' (i.e. 1644 in present-day reckoning), by one John Guy, Deputy Provider-General: 10½ stone of cheese from 'Woodall Feild' and 1½ stone from 'Brekenbrough'. The Provider-General of the royalist forces at York in the period before the battle of Marston Moor (2 July 1644) was Captain Nevil Gervas, one of whose deputies was John Guy.¹² Bread, cheese and perhaps beef formed the basis of the contemporary soldier's diet, washed down with small beer.¹³ The Provider-General's deputies evidently gathered food for the York garrison, issuing receipts against future payment. The hoard comes from a known manor site and its face value of about £93 5s 0d makes it one of the largest hoards of the period. It may be identified as the liquid assets of an estate of at least two farms, owned by Sir Arthur Ingram, whose father (also Sir Arthur)

¹¹ Adam Eyre, 'A Dyurnall or Catalogue of all my accions and expences...', *Publications of the Surtees Soc.* LXV (1875 pub 1877). On the 18th century Halifax comers, see (for instance) John Marsh, *Clip a Bright Guinea* (London, 1971).

¹² The name on the receipts was first read as Thomas Guy, but examination in the Manuscripts Department of the British Library suggested that John Guy was more likely. It seems unnecessary to invent an extra member of the royalist staff. At this time the new year started on 25 March (Lady Day), so dates in the period 1 January–24 March 1644 were expressed as '1643'.

¹³ 'A soldier was lucky if he was given two pounds of bread and a quarter of a pound of cheese *per diem*' (P. Young, *Marston Moor 1644* (Kineton, 1970), p. 47); see also 'Food and Drink' in P. Young & W. Emberton, *The Cavalier Army* (London, 1974), pp. 88–94. On this basis the Breckenbrough and Woodall cheese would feed 96 men for one week.

had bought Breckenbrough from the Lascelles family in 1626.¹⁴ It may in part represent the proceeds of the continuing supply of foodstuffs for the royal army: the fresh York coins and the Continental ducats suggest that previous requisitions may have been paid for in cash, but the receipts hint that by 1644 local royalist finances were somewhat straitened.

The receipts are doubly useful, since they are the latest datable objects in the hoard, the latest coins being four Tower shillings marked (P) and the York coins. Both had certainly ceased to be issued by 15 July 1644 (the Pyx trial for the former in London coincidentally being held on the day that the royalists surrendered York), but may have been struck somewhat earlier. The (P) coins were probably struck during the period April 1643–March 1644, while the York coins were struck at any time after late January 1643.¹⁵ The hoard was thus buried at some time after 17 January 1644.

A likely date for its burial is the spring of 1644, when the royalists were losing control of northern England, following the advent of a large Scots army on the Parliament's side. Commanded by Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, it crossed into England in January 1644. The royalist army, under William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, retreated slowly, harassing the Scots whenever possible; the town of Newcastle also resisted the Scots strongly. Meanwhile the commander at York, John Belasyse, maintained a defensive posture against Parliamentary threats from the south and west, but on 11 April his army was routed and destroyed at Selby by the combined forces of the Fairfaxes, father and son.¹⁶ To prevent the loss of York, the Marquis of Newcastle was forced to retreat rapidly to the city, closely pursued by the Scots, who reached Northallerton on 15 April and Boroughbridge on the 17th, where they met the Fairfaxes. On 3 June, these armies were joined by that of the Eastern Association, commanded by the Earl of Manchester. The siege of York was relieved on 1 July by Prince Rupert, but the following day saw the royalists beaten at Marston Moor and, on the 15th, York surrendered. For the next three years the north was under the military rule of the Scots, unpaid and often undisciplined.

Some of the Scots coins in the hoard may have arrived with the Scots army, but they might already have reached the area through trade or at the time of the Bishops' Wars of 1639–40. Simple prudence on the part of the tenant or steward at Breckenbrough suggests that the hoard was buried by mid-April 1644 when the Scots first arrived; the inclusion of the receipts suggests that their redemption was still hoped for as well as hiding evidence of collaboration with the royalist forces.

Yorkshire has produced many hoards from the Civil War period: the south and west of the county saw a good deal of fighting during 1643 and

¹⁴ I owe this suggestion to Mr L. P. Wenham who has kindly shown me a copy of his evidence given at the coroner's inquest.

¹⁵ The (P) coins show some slight wear; on York see Besly (note 8).

¹⁶ P. R. Newman, 'The defeat of John Belasyse: Civil War in Yorkshire, January–April 1644', *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal* 52 (1980), pp. 123–33.

early in 1644, reflected by hoards from Bingley, Criggleston, Denby (Barnsley), Elland, Temple Newsam and the small hoard of gold coins from Sowerby, mentioned above. The large hoard buried in two pots at Wyke (Bradford), found in 1982 may in part have been buried in 1643–4, but its latest coins postdate the war of 1642–6. The Netherton hoard terminates c. 1646. There are also ill-documented hoards from Fountains Abbey, Garforth, Oulton, Pudsey and Scholes. Thorpe Hall, at Thorpe Willoughby near Selby has produced one of the largest Civil War hoards: 1 gold and 2,678 silver coins, with a face value around £107, probably buried early in the war, in 1642. An important hoard at Pocklington, 8 miles from York, buried at about the same time as Breckenbrough, was found in 1849: it yielded 48 or more mint-fresh York halfcrowns, accounting for almost all of one class of these known today.¹⁷ In North Yorkshire, a hoard from Constable Burton included a York shilling. Other hoards have been found at Easby, Egton, York itself, Birstwith and, in 1858, at Newby Wiske, close to Breckenbrough and perhaps buried at the same time and for the same reason.¹⁸

Key to Illustrations

PLATE I

- 1 The hoard pot and tile (Scale 1:4).
- 2 Gold Britain Crown of James I, London 1613.
- 3 Gold Laurel of James I, London 1623–4.

PLATE II

- 4 Gold Unite of Charles I, London 1629–30.
- 5 Gold Unite of Charles I, London 1634–5.
- 6 Gold Double Crown of Charles I, London 1639–40.
- 7 Gold Crown of Charles I, London 1627–8.
- 8 Unit (£12 Scots) of James VI, Edinburgh 1609–25 (English Unites have a very similar design).
- 9 Double Crown (£6 Scots) of James VI, Edinburgh 1609–25.
- 10 Groat of Philip & Mary, London 1554–8; heavily worn.
- 11 Shilling of Elizabeth I, London 1583–5; worn and clipped.

PLATE III

- 12 Shilling of Charles I, London 1643–44 (obverse), privy-mark (P).
- 13 Halfcrown of Charles I, Aberystwyth 1639–42.
- 14 Halfcrown of Charles I, York 1643, privy mark lion.
- 15 Halfcrown of Charles I, York 1643–4, with mint name EBOR (obverse).
- 16 Thistle merk of James VI, Edinburgh 1602; bent and clipped.
- 17 Thirty shillings Scots of Charles I, Edinburgh 1637–42.
- 18 Irish shilling of James I, struck at London, 1604–7.

PLATE IV

- 19 Brabant ducaton of Philip IV, Brussels 1638.
- 20 Counterfeit shilling of Charles I, copying a York issue.
- 21 Receipt for cheese from Breckenbrough, 1(7) January 1643/4.

¹⁷ These are my group 3 (*BNJ* 54, note 8 above), i.e. Hawkins' types 5 and 6.

¹⁸ For a Bibliography and brief outlines of these hoards see E. Besly, *English Civil War Hoards* (note 3, above).

Unpublished Seventeenth Century Tokens of Yorkshire

MICHAEL DICKINSON

These notes will give fuller details of the tokens listed as 'Believed entirely unpublished' in my recent catalogue, *Seventeenth Century Tokens of the British Isles and their Values*, published by Seaby (London, 1986). The numbers by which I have identified these tokens fit conveniently into the system established by G. C. Williamson in his *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, published in two volumes in 1889 and 1891.

GILDERSOME

94A (Henry Scott) Details as Williamson 94 but the inscription between the pans of the scales on the obverse reads SET STR/IGHT &/HAVE/RIGHT (in four lines).

Formerly in the collection of Horace Hird of Bradford, sold at Glendining's on 6 March 1974 (lot 285, part); now in the Norweb collection.

KIPPAX

167A Obv. OBADIAH.MOORE — O.MEMENTO.FINIS. Skull.
Rev. OF.KIPPAXE.1669 — HIS/HALF/PENY (in three lines).

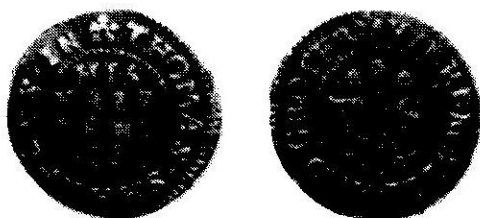
Noted by the late Ralph Nott; in the Norweb collection.

KIRKBY MALZEARD

167B Obv. THOMAS SHARPLES.IN — HIS/HALF/PENY/1668 (in four lines).

Rev. KIRKBMALZEARD.GROCER — T.S, floral pattern between letters.

Shown to me in 1975 by a collector with whom I have lost touch.



PONTEFRACT

263A (Timothy Feild) Details as Williamson 263 but dated 1669. Two examples in the Norweb collection (ex Hird and ex Nott). There is also a variety of W.263 without an inner circle on the

reverse, also represented in Norweb by two examples (one ex Hird).

ROTHERHAM

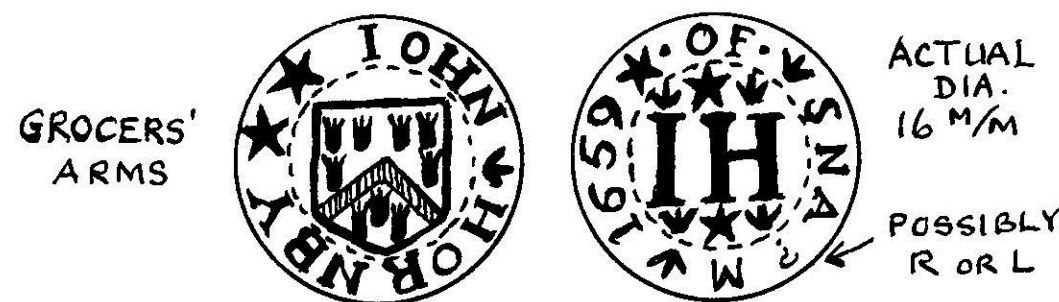
- 294A Obv. WILLIAM.SMITH — 1664
Rev. OF.ROTHERAM — W.S. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
In the Norweb collection (ex Hird).

SLAITHWAITE

- 343C Obv. IOHN.DISON.1668 — HIS/HALFE/PENY (in three lines)
Rev. AT.Y^E.GREYHOVND — Greyhound running
Noted by Nott; in the Norweb collection.

SNAPE

- 343D Obv. IOHN.HORNBY — Grocers' Arms
Rev. OF.SNA—1659 — I.H. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; dia. 16 mm.
Described from a neat drawing in the writer's possession, done at least fifteen years ago. The drawing gives the reading of the place name as SNA-M, the fourth letter being described as possibly R or L. My interpretation of it as SNAPE, while very possible, is admittedly highly conjectural. If Snape is correct, the Yorkshire attribution is also probably right. The name Hornby is much more common in the county, especially in North Yorkshire, than in Suffolk where the other English village of Snape is located.



YARM

- 373A Obv. IAMES.GRVNDY — Bust of Charles II (not certain, but very likely).
Rev. IN.YARM.1669 — I.G. $\frac{1}{4}$ d.
Shown to the writer by Nigel Clark in 1980.

YORK

- 425A (Thomas Reader) This should be deleted. I removed it from the main listing in my catalogue but omitted to remove the number from the introductory paragraphs to the country. The token in question is as follows:
Obv. THOMAS/READER/IN/BREADGAT/HIS HALF/
PENNY (in six lines)
Rev. Shield of arms filling the field.

In the Norweb collection (ex Hird). Hird must have considered it to have belonged possibly to York, but a London attribution seems far more likely, and I listed it in my catalogue there as no. 393A. I asked John Wetton about the token a few years ago and he gave me the following information: 'There was a Three Horse Shoes tavern in Cheapside c. 1648–1660s (*vide* Bryant Lillywhite's *London Signs*). This may well have been on the corner of Bread Street, and there may have been a gate at the entrance (in which case the full address could have been Bread Street Gate). I can find no record of a Bread Gate anywhere else in the country.'

In conclusion I must thank Robert H. Thompson for reading the manuscript of these notes and making a couple of corrections to my descriptions. He also kindly provided the information about the Kippax, Pontefract and Slaithwaite tokens from his studies of the token collection formed by the late Mrs Emery May Norweb, of Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., the first part of which (Bedfordshire to Devon) has been published in volume 31 of the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (London, 1984) under Mr Thompson's editorship.

Yorkshire Temperance Establishments — Part I

J. P. MOFFAT

The Coffee and Cocoa House Companies Movement

The appearance of Coffee and Cocoa Houses and Taverns, one aspect of the Temperance movement of the nineteenth century, followed the legal changes which lowered taxes and duty on strong liquor and abolished them on beer. Inns and taverns were refurbished and the new big brassy public house came into prominence, built to cater for the masses who had become involved in the spreading Victorian industrial revolution. Within metropolitan London the new temperance establishments did not have the same success as in other parts, probably due to them often being copies of the expanding new licenced premises. There was no quick profit to be had from them and, due to a failure within the movement to understand the problems, many of the projects failed. It was also found that charity was not necessarily one of the ways to success.

The public houses were places of liquid refreshment and entertainment and few gave any thought to comfort or to supplying food or meals. The new Coffee and Cocoa Houses were built with these factors in mind, along with the supply of newspapers, and with separate rooms for clubs and meetings and for entertainment in the form of bagatelle, billiards and board games. They set out to cater for the family rather than for the thirsty individual. They also had an advantage over the licenced premises in that the licencing laws permitted them to open an hour earlier in the morning, i.e. at 4 am, thus allowing working people to purchase breakfast and refreshment on going to work or returning from night work. In some areas both the licencing trade and the local authorities bitterly opposed this advantage in court, but without success.

Licencing laws for a refreshment house within Section 6 of the Act (23 Victoria Ch. 27) stipulated that no intoxicating liquors were to be sold and that the houses should not be open before 4 am in the morning or after 10 pm in the evening. If they wished to open after 10 pm a refreshment house licence had to be obtained from the local excise office. Normal licencing hours were 5 am in the Metropolitan area and 6 am outside London. The law required a licence for billiards, bagatelle and music (Act 8 & 9 Victoria Ch. 109). The licence for billiards required exemption from the Victuallers' licence admission charge, it being immaterial whether made alone or together with the free licence for music. Both licences were to be exhibited over the doors of the rooms concerned.

Dundee had the earliest recorded Coffee House and this was opened in 1853 on a non-profit making basis though it was running at a loss by

1880 (Plate V, A). Robert Lockhart, who chaired the formation of the Liverpool British Workman's Public House Company in 1875 (a company which flourished and expanded to seventy branches in the 1880s), moved to Newcastle and formed fourteen branches of his own Cocoa Rooms. In 1878 he moved down to London for health reasons and was responsible for the eight or more Cocoa Rooms opened in the East End and in South-east London prior to his death in 1880.

The earliest houses in the East End of London were the Dr Barnardo's Coffee Palaces. These Dr Barnardo houses are better known as the East End Juvenile Missions and Homes for Orphans and Destitute Children of both Sexes and all Ages. The 'Edinburgh Castle' in Rhodeswell Road, Limehouse, was opened on 14 February 1873, and from the profits of this first so-called 'Coffee Palace' the 'Dublin Castle' was purchased, reconstructed and expanded at a cost of £5,000. Both were run-down public houses, the Edinburgh Castle having been a notorious 'gin palace' amongst the many in Limehouse.

Yorkshire Coffee and Cocoa Houses

One of the earliest in Yorkshire was the Hull People's Public House Company. Instituted in 1877, with a capital of £1,000, eight houses had been opened in just over a year and there were twenty by 1889.

Smaller establishments, such as the York Coffee Stalls, which were advertised and illustrated in *The Coffee House Public News*¹ in 1879, were horse drawn for mobility. They could be opened up and closed down in minutes and they cost around £50, depending upon specific requirements and extras.

The Check System

Tickets were printed for use in establishments as well as metal 'tokens'. Bradford Coffee Tavern company issued tickets for 1d, 2d and 3d, and the Hull People's Café Public House Company did the same, also issuing tickets in booklets like stamps today. A 2s 6d booklet had 4 × 3d (white), 6 × 2d (blue) and 6 × 1d (pink), all being stamped by the company for use only in their own establishments. These were issued where cash had previously been used and prevented the misuse of money for other purposes.

¹ *The Coffee House Public News* was issued monthly and later became *The Temperance Caterer*.

No.....

BRADFORD COFFEE TAVERN COMPANY, LIMITED.

This Check is good for

One Penny

At any of the Company's Establishments.

Tea	} Large Mug, 1d.	Soup, 1d. per Basin.
Coffee		
Cocoa	Small, do. ½d.	Milk, 1d. per Glass.
Bread and Butter, ½d. per Slice.		Tea Cakes, 1d. each.
		Buns, 1d. each.

Signature of Purchaser

.....

YORKSHIRE REFRESHMENT ROOM TOKENS

BATLEY

1. Batley Coffee House Co. Limited.
 - (a) *Obv.* BATLEY COFFEE HOUSE CO. LIMITED around; WILTON ST./BATLEY in two lines across field, — above and below.
Rev. Laurel wreath with ten berries, 6^d in centre.
 Brass 26 mm. Milled edge. (Plate V)
 - (b) A 4d is also recorded.
 - (c) A 2d is also recorded.

The company converted the offices of the Co-operative Mutual Society in Wilton Street into the 'Princess Alice', and this was opened in 1879. Later accommodation for eleven beds in seven bedrooms was added. The company was not listed in the 1909 Directory.

BRADFORD

2. Borough Arms Coffee Tavern.

Obv. BORO' ARMS COFFEE TAVERN · BRADFORD · around; 1 in centre.
Rev. Plain
 Brass 23. Plain edge. (Plate V)
 No record of this establishment has yet been found.
3. Coffee Tavern Company Limited.
 - (a) *Obv.* COFFEE TAVERN COMPANY · LIMITED · around; BRADFORD across field between decorated lines.
Obv. GOOD FOR/ONE/PENNYWORTH/OF/ REFRESHMENT/AT in six lines across field, with arabesques on short lines.
 Æ 27. Plain edge. (Plate V)
 - (b) Some obverses are countermarked with numbers, e.g., 9.
 (Plate V)

The Bradford Central Coffee Tavern opened 7 June 1878 at the junction of Kirkgate, Westgate, Ivegate and Millergate. The company rapidly progressed to over thirty houses in the 1900s, providing accommodation, food, meals and drinks which it manufactured itself. It also catered for many thousands at normal prices at festivals, fêtes, etc. The company ceased trading in 1905.

BRIGHOUSE

4. Brighthouse Cocoa House Company Limited.
 - (a) *Obv.* BRIGHOUSE COCOA HOUSE COMPANY LIMITED in outer circle; ROSE & CROWN —★— in inner circle; ornate five-pointed star at centre.

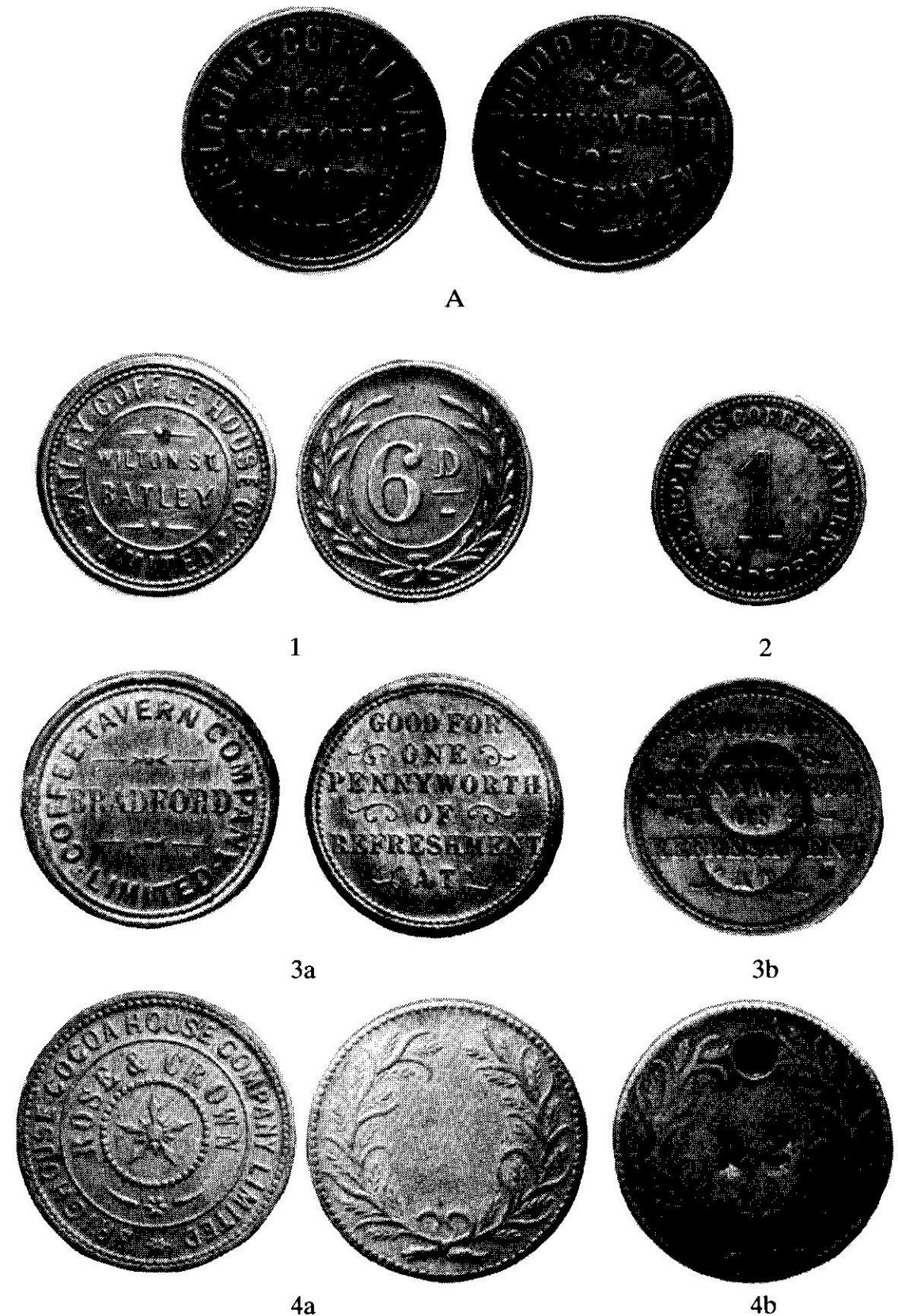


PLATE V

Rev. Corn wreath tied with bow; centre plain.

Brass 30. Milled edge. (Plate V)

- (b) Similar, but countermarked with incuse 12 in field. Holed (Plate V)

Established by 1877 on the Huddersfield Road. George Furniss was the manager in 1881. (White's and Kelly's directories)

BRIDLINGTON

5. Bridlington Cocoa House Company.

Obv. BRIDLINGTON COCOA HOUSE COMPANY around; large 1^D within inner circle.

Rev. Plain.

Brass 25. Milled edge

No record of this establishment yet found.

DEWSBURY

6. Dewsbury Cocoa Tavern.

Obv. DEWSBURY COCOA TAVERN·BOTTOM OF BOND ST· around; MARKET/PLACE in two lines across field; in small letters below, H.PASLEY SHEFF^D.

Rev. Large 1; around, laurel wreath tied with bow.

Æ 33. Plain edge. (Plate VI)

At 4 Market Street (now Marks & Spencer's) Branches were later established in Huddersfield Road, Saville Town and Batley Carr are of The Dewsbury & District Cocoa & Coffee House Company to be listed in Part II.

DONCASTER

7. Public Cocoa and Coffee House.

Obv. PUBLIC COCOA AND COFFEE HOUSE around; within wire line inner circle, arms of town (castle, crown above) with DONCASTER above.

Rev. Wreath of laurel; within wire line inner circle, 1/PENNY in two lines.

Æ30. Milled edge. (Plate VI)

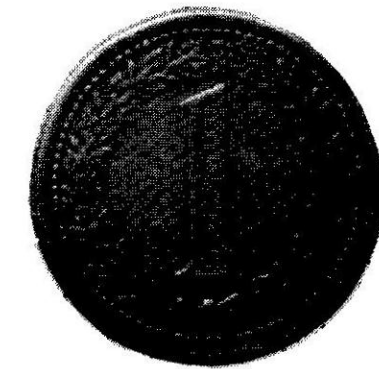
HARROGATE

8. The People's Hotel.

Obv. THE PEOPLE'S/HOTEL/HARROWGATE in two curved and one straight line, fernlike and other ornamentation in field; in small letters below, H.SMITH.M BIRM.

Rev. GOOD FOR/ONE/PENNYWORTH/OF/FOOD in five lines, ornamentation in field.

Brass 26. Milled edge. (Plate VI)



6



7



8



9

PLATE VI

The company was established with a capital of £3,000 worth of £1 shares, and premises opened 20 December 1877 at 2 Albert Street, with sixteen beds available. Later, the capital was increased and the Albert Hall was built at the rear (behind the North Eastern Hotel) for hire, recreation and functions. The establishment closed in 1901 and then became a Temperance Hotel.

HUDDERSFIELD

9. Huddersfield Coffee House Company Limited.

Obv. HUDDERSFIELD above floral ornament, COFFEE HOUSE/COMPANY in ornate letters in two lines; LIMITED below.

Rev. GOOD FOR/ONE/PENNYWORTH/OF/ REFRESHMENT in five lines.

Brass 28. Milled edge. (Plate VI)

The company operated the 'Rose' in Lord Street, the 'Castle' in the Market and the 'Stag' at Rushcliffe. It was one of the first refreshment room companies to be sold as a going concern, being offered for sale 21 May 1880 by direction of Thomas Lord, Secretary.

LEEDS

10. St James's Hall.

(a) *Obv.* NEAR THE MARKETS·LEEDS· in ornamented letters around; SJH monogram at centre.

Rev. GOOD FOR/ONE PENNYWORTH/OF FOOD AT/ ST JAMES'S HALL/LEEDS in plain capital letters.

Brass 26. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

(b) Similar, but HALF PENNYWORTH on reverse.

Zinc 26. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

(c) New *rev.* Laurel wreath tied with bow; at centre, large 1^D.

Æ 26. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

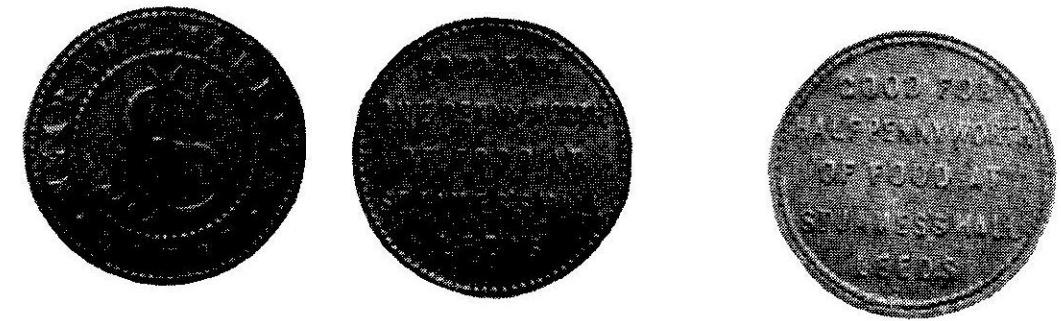
(d) Similar, but large 2^D at centre.

Æ 26. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

St James's Hall was built and opened in 1879 by William James Armitage and his brother, Dr Armitage, at York Street, Kirkgate, and was operated on a non-profit basis. In 1884 a large extension doubled the size of the hall and it was advertised as the largest coffee house in the kingdom.² a Preservation order was placed on the building in September 1986.

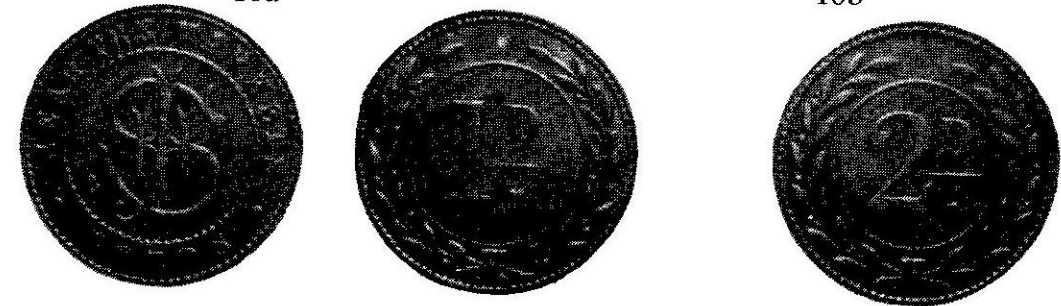
11. Lockhart's Cocoa Rooms.

(a) *Obv.* LOCKHARTS above, COCOA across field between arabesques, ROOMS below.



10a

10b



10c

10d



11a



11b

12

² The hall and extension are both illustrated in the *Coffee House Public News* of 1 August 1884.

Rev. GOOD FOR/ONE/PENNYWORTH/OF
REFRESHMENT/AT in six lines, decorations in field.

Æ 29. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

(b) *Obv.* Inscription as above, but different decoration.

Rev. GOOD FOR/SIX/PENNYWORTH/OF/
REFRESHMENT in five lines.

Cu.ni. 25. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

Lockhart's became a national company. Their Leeds addresses were at 21, 55, 74 and 144 Briggate, 43 Lady Lane and 55 Boar Lane (Kelly's directories 1902, 1908), and they were still in Briggate in the 1930s.

PONTEFRACT

12. Pontefract Cocoa & Coffee House Company Limited.

Obv. PONTEFRACT above; COCOA/& COFFEE/House
C^o in three lines across field; LIMITED below.

Rev. GOOD FOR ONE above; floral ornament;
PENNYWORTH/OF/REFRESHMENT ACROSS
field; AT THE below.

Æ 29. Milled edge. (Plate VII)

The company had premises in Ropergate, the manager being J. J. Earp (Kelly's, 1881).

Entries for Barnsley, Castleford, Hull, Ripon, Scarborough, Skipton, Todmorden and Wakefield, and further entries for Bradford, Dewsbury and Leeds, will appear in Part II.

German Porcelain Medallions, 1938–1942

E. F. WINKLER

A different and unusual field of numismatics is the collection of commemorative medals made from porcelain. Every collector will be familiar with the German Emergency Coins of the 1920–22 period, struck in brown Boettger or white biscuit porcelain, some of them with coloured, gilded or silvered details.

There is an extensive range of quite beautiful medals designed for all kinds of occasions, festivals, jubilees, sport meetings, anniversaries, for raising funds, prize-medals for flowershows, honour gifts to famous citizens and for many other reasons. There is for example:

A medal of the Zeppelin round the world flight of 1929.

Obv. The Zeppelin over a globe of the world, *GRAF ZEPPELIN — WELT — RUNDFLUG. 1929* (Graf Zeppelin round the world flight 1929).

Rev. As above but the other half of the globe, *LAKEHURST . FRIEDRICHSHAFEN . TOKIO. LOS ANGELES .*

Bearded rim. Scheuch 1635 (Plate VIII, A)

Another series of medals commemorates German historical dates and battles during the Nazi-period, these are now quite rare, as after the war it was illegal to possess items portraying the swastika in Germany and many were defaced or destroyed. The surviving medals are now appearing on the German market as historical documents. For instance, in some current German auction catalogues the following heading appears:

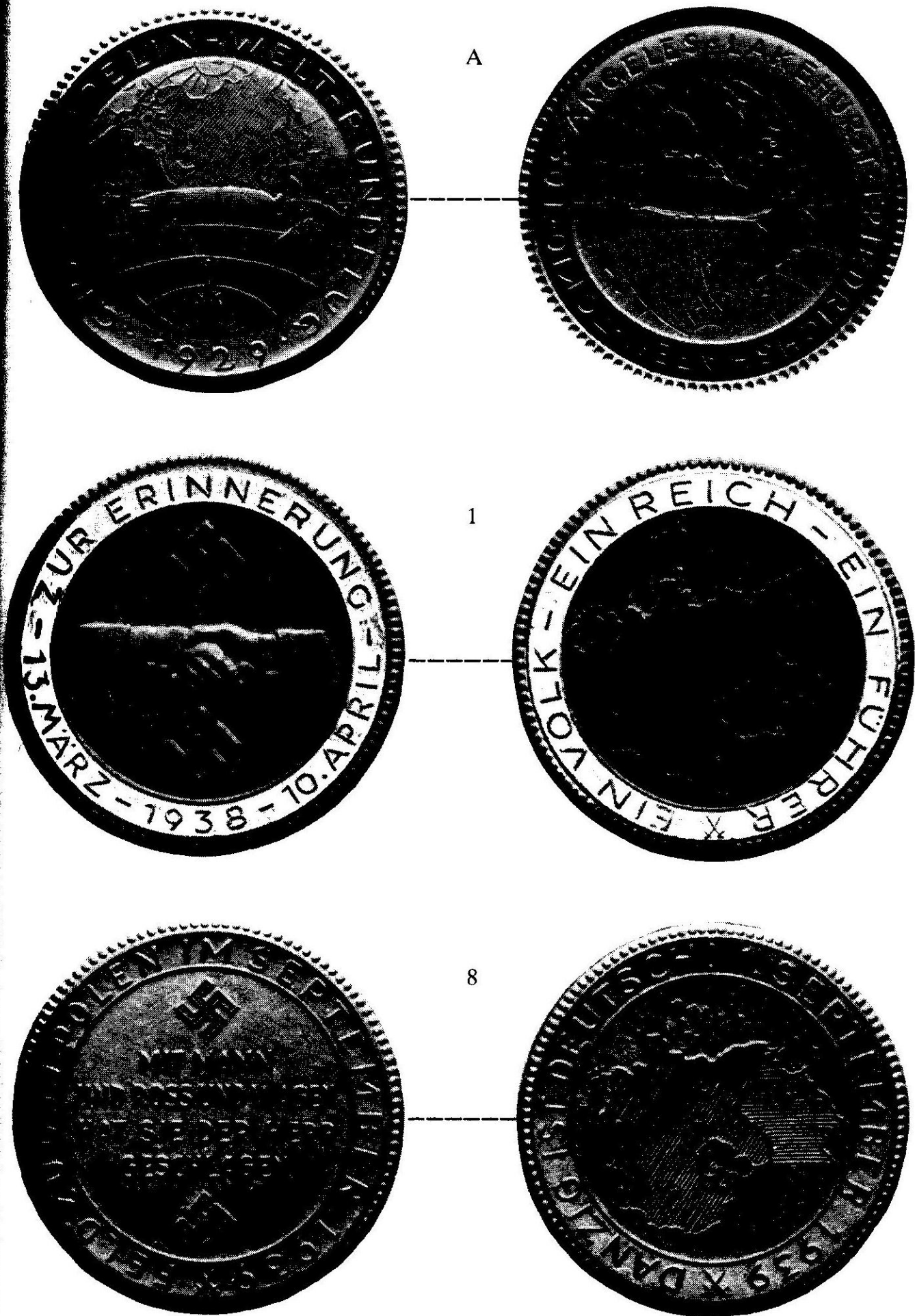
‘Medals of the period 1932–1945 are historical time-documents and are only for sale by written bids; viewing is not possible; these are until their despatch under official seal’

This group, made in the famous Meissen factories and showing the crossed swords trademark, was issued in Munich. It consists of twenty-four medals, in red Boettger or white biscuit porcelain, in eight to twelve variations of coloured, gilded and silvered decorations applied and secondary fired. There are also variations in the diameter due to the use of two different compositions of clay for the red and white porcelain, the white are up to 2 mm dia. smaller after firing, i.e. red=50 mm dia., white=48 mm dia.

After the 1st of July 1942 no further medals in this series were issued, possibly due to a shortage of skilled die-sinkers, these having been transferred to more important war-work.

The following is a complete list:

1. The *Anschluss* (Union) of the *Ostmark* (Austria).
Obv. Two clasped hands, above and below the swastika, *ZUR ERINNERUNG 1 — 13. MÄRZ — 1938 — 10. APRIL* — (In remembrance 13 March — 1938 — 10 April).
Rev. The map of Greater Germany, *EIN REICH — EIN VOLK — EIN FÜHRER* — (One people — one country — one leader).
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1859. (Plate VIII, 1)
2. The *Anschluss* (Union) of the *Ostmark* (Austria).
Obv. Design as No. 1 but with the legend: *EIN VOLK — EIN REICH — EIN FÜHRER* (One people — One country — One leader).
Rev. The map of Greater Germany, *OSTMARKANSCHLUSS 13. MÄRZ 1938* (Eastern province annexion 13 March 1938).
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1860.
3. The occupation of the Sudetenland.
Obv. Design as No. 1 but *ZUR ERINNERUNG 1. — 10. OKTOBER 1938* (In remembrance of the 1–10 October 1938).
Rev. Design as No. 1, incorporating the Sudetenland on the map.
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1861.
4. The occupation of the Sudetenland.
Obv. Design as No. 2.
Rev. Design as No. 3 but *SUDETENBEFREIUNG 1. — 10. OKTOBER 1938* (Liberation of the Sudetes 1–10 October 1938).
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1862.
5. The occupation of Czechoslovakia.
Obv. Design as No. 1 but *ZUR ERINNERUNG 1 — 15. U. 22. MÄRZ 1939* (the 'Z' reversed) (In remembrance 15 and 22 March 1939).
Rev. Design as No. 3, incorporating Czechoslovakia.
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1863.
6. The occupation of Czechoslovakia.
Obv. Design as No. 1 but with letter 'Z' rectified.
Rev. Design as No. 3.
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1864.
7. The inauguration of the Tannenberg monument.
Obv. The head of Hindenburg facing right, *TANNENBERSIEGER * VON HINDENBURG ** (Victor of Tannenberg * von Hindenburg *).
Rev. The Tannenberg monument, *TANNENBERGFEIER 27. AUGUST 1939* (Tannenberg celebration 27 August 1939).
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1865.



8. The campaign in Poland (1939).
Obv. A four line horizontal legend, above and below a swastika, *MIT MANN / UND ROSS UND WAGEN / HAT SIE DER HERR / GECHLAGEN* (With Men / and Horse and waggon / The Lord has them / beaten); around, *FELDZUG IN POLEN IM SEPTEMBER 1939* (Campaign in Poland, in September 1939).
Rev. The map of greater Germany and Poland, *DANZIG IST DEUTSCH! 1. SEPTEMBER 1939* (Danzig is German! 1 September 1939).
 Bearded rim. Scheuch 1866 (Plate VIII, 8).
9. The occupation of Norway.
Obv. On a plinth, a standing eagle left with legend on the plinth, *UM ZEHN STUNDEN / ZUVOR / GEKOMMEN* (By ten hours anticipated) left in field, *9. APRIL / 1940* around, *ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN FELDZUG IN NORWEGEN* (In remembrance of the campaign in Norway).
Rev. A Viking ship with a swastika on the sail, *DENN WIR FAHREN GEGEN ENGELLAND* (Then we sail against England).
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1867.
10. The occupation of Norway.
Obv. Design as No. 9 but different legend, *ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN 9. APRIL 1940* (In remembrance of the 9 April 1940).
Rev. Design as No. 9.
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1868. (Plate IX, 10).
11. The beginning of the march into the West.
Obv. Design as No. 9 but different legend on plinth, *WIEDER / ZUVORGEKOMMEN* (Again / anticipated) around, *ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN 10. MAI 1940* (In remembrance of the 10 May 1940).
Rev. Design as No. 9.
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1869.
12. The campaign against Holland and Belgium.
Obv. Design as No. 9 but different legend and in the field left: *10. MAI*; right: *1940, FELDZUG IN HOLLAND UND BELGIEN* (Campaign in Holland and Belgium).
Rev. Design as No. 11.
 Smooth rim. Scheuch 1870.
13. The occupation of Paris.
Obv. The Eiffel Tower, on either side three aeroplanes, *EINNAHME VON PARIS 14. JUNI 1940 ** (Occupation of Paris 14 June 1940 *).



Rev. A tank half-left, above the swastika, *ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN FELDZUG IN FRANKREICH* (In remembrance of the campaign in France).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1871. (Plate IX, 13)

14. The cease-fire in France.

Obv. A railway waggon with inscription above and below, above, *WAFFENRUHE / IN / FRANKREICH* (Cease-fire in France); below, *AM 25. JUNI / 1940 / 1 UHR 35 MINUTEN* (On 25 June 1940 1.35 p.m.); around, *DAS RACHEDIKTAT VON 1918 IST GELOESCHT* (The revenge-dictum of 1918 is erased).

Rev. A swastika in an oak-wreath, *DER UNS AUFGEZWUNGENE KRIEG MUSS ZUM GLORREICHSTEN SIEG DER DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE WERDEN* (The war that has been forced on us must become the most glorious victory in German history).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1872.

15. The campaign in the South-East.

Obv. In the field inscription with the swastika above and the Italian fasces below, *WIR WERDEN / ENGLAND / SCHLAGEN WO / WIR ES TREFFEN* (We will beat England where-ever we meet her). *FELDZUG IM SUDÖSTEN 1941* (Campaign in the South-East 1941).

Rev. An eagle flying left, in its talons a bomb.

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1873. (Plate IX, 15).

16. The taking of Crete.

Obv. The map of Crete, above the swastika, below the Italian fasces, *EINNAHME VON KRETA 20. MAI — 1. JUNI 1941* (The taking of Crete 20 May–1 June 1941).

Rev. Three aeroplanes and seven parachutists descending, *SIEG DER FALLSCHIRNJÄGER — LUFTLANDETRUPPEN UND FLIEGER* (Victory of the parachutists — airborne troops and pilots).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1874. (Plate X, 16).

17. The encirclement battle of Kiev.

Obv. A map of the battle in a square with inscriptions on the side-lines:

left, *3718 / GESCHÜTZE* (3718 big guns)

above, *665000 GEFANGENE* (665000 prisoners)

right, *885 PANZER — KRAFTWAGEN* (885 armoured cars)

below, *FÜNF — SOVIET / ARMEEN* (Five Soviet armies)

around, *UMFASSUNGSSCHLACHT VON KIEV IM SEPTEMBER 1941*

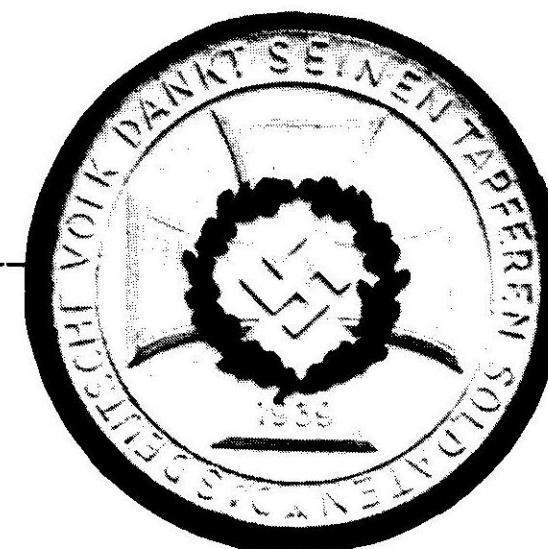
(Encirclement-battle of Kiev in September 1941)



16



17



19



Rev. The Iron Cross of 1939 with swastika and oak-wreath, *DAS DEUTSCHE VOLK DANKT SEINEN TAPFEREN SOLDATEN* (The German people thank their brave soldiers). Smooth rim. Scheuch 1875. (Plate X, 17).

18. The twin-battle of Bryansk and Wyasma.

Obv. A map of the battle area in a square, with legends on the sidelines.
left, 5396 / *GESCHÜTZE* (5396 heavy guns)
above, 657918 / *GEFANGENE* (657918 prisoners)
right, 1241 / *PANZERKRAFTWAGEN* ('N' reversed) (1241 armoured cars)
below, *ACHT SOVJET / ARMEEN* (Eight Soviet armies)
around, *DOPPELSCHLACHT VON BRJANSK UND WJASMA IM OKTOBER 1941*. (The twin-battle of Bryansk and Wyasma in October 1941).

Rev. Design as No. 17.
Smooth rim. Scheuch 1876.

19. The Luftwaffe against England.

Obv. Four aircraft diving on Tower Bridge, *ES GIEBT HEUTE KEINE INSELN MEHR* (Today there are no more islands).

Rev. The same design as No. 14.
Smooth rim. Scheuch 1877. (Plate X, 19)

20. The *Kriegsmarine* (Navy) against England.

Obv. A submarine and one E-boat on the sea and in the air six aeroplanes, *ES KANN HIER NUR EINER SIEGEN UND DAS SIND WIR!* (There can be here only one victorious and that is us!).

Rev. The German eagle, *EIN GLAUBE, EIN WILLE, EIN ZIEL. SIEG!* (One belief, one will, one target, Victory!).
Smooth rim. Scheuch 1878. (Plate XI, 20).

21. The campaign in Africa.

Obv. A tank in the desert left, in the background two camel-riders, three palms and three aeroplanes, *ZUR ERINNERUNG AN DEN FELDZUG IN AFRIKA*. (For remembrance of the campaign in Africa).

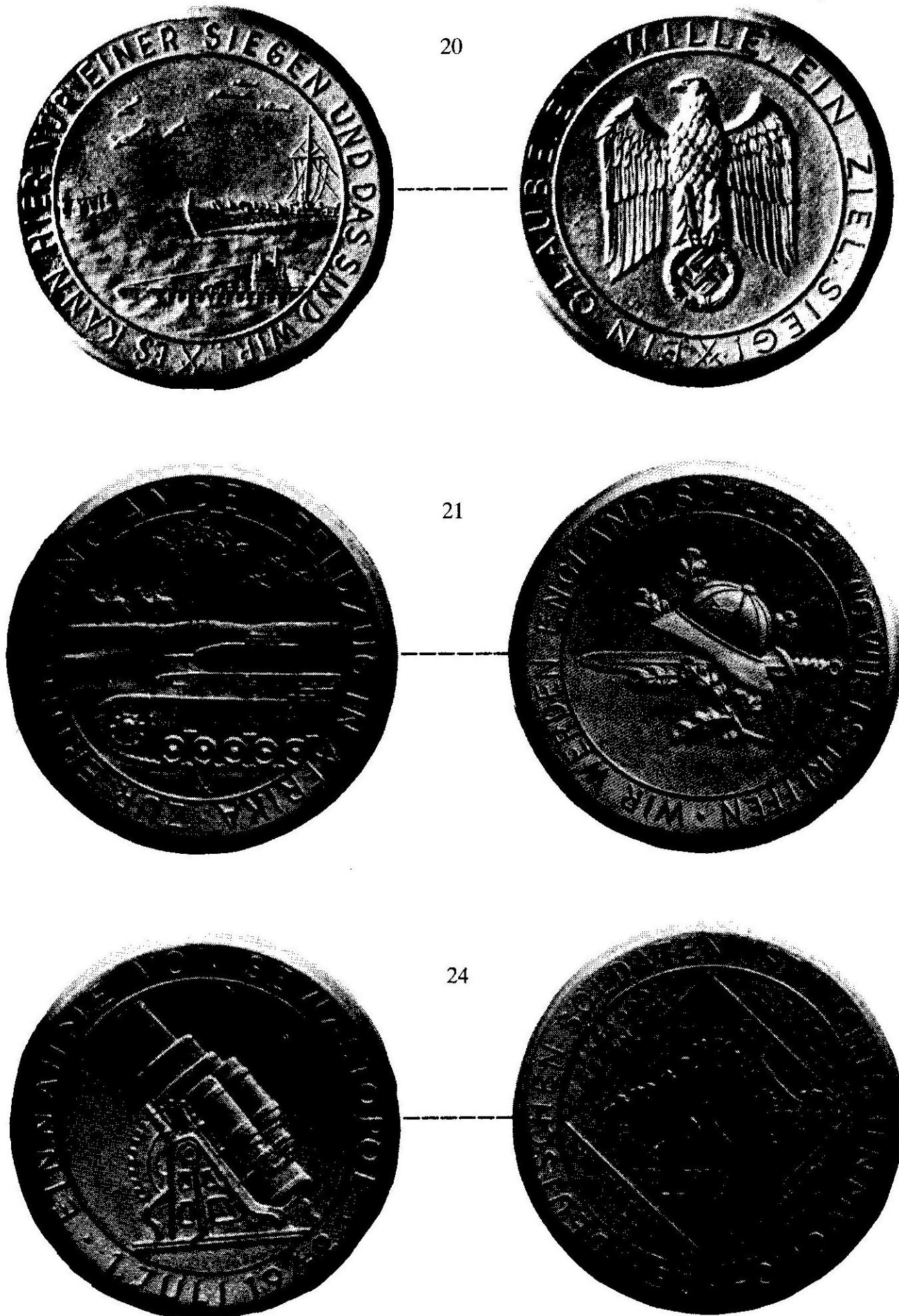
Rev. A tropical helmet over a sword and oak-leaves, *WIR WERDEN ENGLAND SCHLAGEN WO WIR ES TREFFEN*. (We will beat England wherever we meet her).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1879. (Plate XI, 21)

22. The 150th anniversary of the death of Mozart

Obv. Mozart looking right, *WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART*

Rev. In a laurel-wreath with berries, in four lines, + / *SALZBURG* / 27.1.1756 / *WIEN* / 5.12.1791 / + (Born Salzburg the 27.1.1756, died in Vienna 5.12.1791), around *ZUR*



ERINNERUNG AN DEN 5. DEZEMBER 1941 (For remembrance of the 5th December 1941).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1880.

23. The occupation of Singapore.

Obv. In a circle, a lion facing left before a palm, *EINNAHME VON SINGAPORE 11. FEBRUAR 1942*. (Occupation of Singapore 11 February 1942).

Rev. The Japanese flag before a laurel-wreath with berries, *GROSS-OSTASIEN VON FREMDHERRSCHAFT BEFREIT* (Greater East Asia liberated from foreign rule).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1881.

24. The capture of Sebastopol.

Obv. A heavy mortar in position left, *EINNAHME VON SEWASTOPOL 1. JULI 1942* (Occupation of Sebastopol 1 July 1942).

Rev. The map of the Crimea in a square with inscriptions in the sidelines,
above right, 3597 / *KAMPFWERE* (3597 fortifications)
below left, 430000 / *GEFANGENE* (430000 prisoners)
above left, 2102 / *GESCHÜTZE* (2102 heavy guns)
below right, 1198 / *PANZERWAGEN* (1198 armoured cars)
around, *DEM DEUTSCHEN SOLDATEN IST NICHTS UNMÖGLICH*. (To the German soldier nothing is impossible).

Smooth rim. Scheuch 1882. (Plate XI, 24).

For further information concerning porcelain medals I recommend the excellent catalogues by Karl Scheuch, issued in Krumbach/Giessen, Germany, at D.M. 22 each:

1. *Spendenmedaillen aus Porcellan und Ton* (1966)
2. *Die Medaillen aus Porcellan*, Volume I. Issuing towns Albrechts-Crossen (1967)
3. Volume II. Issuing towns Dessau-Erlangen (1968)
4. Volume III. Issuing towns F.-M. (without Meissen) (1969)
5. Volume IV. Issuing towns M (Meissen)–Z (Zwickau) (1970).

The explanations of markings, abbreviations and the decorations are in English, and each medal is illustrated, so a knowledge of German is not essential.

Fred Pridmore and his Numismatic Works

P. D. MITCHELL and P. J. SEABY

The following notes are compiled from the text of a paper by Mr Peter Mitchell, 'Pridmore the Man, and his Coins', read to the British Numismatic Society on 25 September 1984, with additional material from the Minutes of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society kindly provided by Mr J. P. Moffat. An obituary appeared in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. 51 (1981). (*Editors*)

Major Fred Pridmore, RAPC, died on 6 August 1980 after some years of poor health. His first association with the Yorkshire Numismatic Society goes back to the years before the 1939–45 war when, according to the late Harold Armstrong, he first attended a meeting in uniform as a young soldier. He was elected a member on 26 November 1938, being proposed by Mr J. Hardaker and Mr J. Digby Firth. He was elected a Council member in 1943. He resigned in 1948 due to his service commitments but was re-elected to membership in March 1953, becoming a Vice-President of the Society and Editor of the *Transactions* for 1954, resigning again in June 1955 on being posted to the Middle East. He exhibited a choice collection of copper and bronze pennies to the Society in March 1939 and a collection of American 'flint arrow-head currency' at the Society's exhibition at Harrogate in April 1939. He read papers on 'Medals and Decorations' in March 1942, on 'Mutilated coins' (read in his absence on duty) in 1944, and on 'The coins of Penang' in April 1954. By this time he had become widely recognized as the leading authority on British Colonial and Commonwealth coinage.

The only child of Frederick William and Florence May Pridmore, master tailor and tailoress, Fred was born on 18 December 1914 at Kirkburton, Huddersfield, but his childhood years were spent at Spilsby, Stickney and Stickford, Lincolnshire. When he was ten years of age the family emigrated for a short period to New South Wales but later returned to Skegness. Fred joined the Training Ship Exmouth in 1928 and at the age of 19 enlisted in the 5th Dragoon Guards at Colchester in December 1934, becoming a bandsman in 1936. He transferred to the Royal Army Pay Corps on account of sub-standard eyesight in 1938. He quickly rose through the ranks, being made Sergeant in 1939, Staff Sergeant in 1940, Staff Quarter Master Sergeant in 1943 and Staff Sergeant Major in 1944. He was granted a permanent Commission (Assistant Paymaster) in April 1961, was promoted to Captain in 1962 and to Major in 1968, and retired in February 1975. During his service career he had twenty-five postings in the U.K. to seventeen different places and he served overseas in Gambia (1945–6), Sierra Leone (1946), Gold Coast (1946), Singapore and Hong Kong (1950–2), Egypt (1955), Aden (1955–8) and Cyprus (1970–5).

Fred had begun collecting coins as a boy and in each of his overseas postings he made a detailed study of the local coinages. On his retirement he went to live in Taunton, where he continued his studies of the coinages of British India, and his home became a Mecca for a number of Commonwealth specialists. His research was always careful and detailed and his publication output was prodigious. Besides his major *opus*, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the end of the Reign of George VI, 1952*, in five volumes (published by Spink between 1960 and 1980), his other catalogues dealt with the coinages of the Straits Settlements and Malaya and with the modern coins and notes of Cyprus, and between the years 1949 and 1979 over one hundred and fifty papers and reviews appeared under his name. He had been elected to the British Numismatic Society in 1944 and was a frequent attender at meetings in London in the late 1940s and 1950s. Though only one of his papers appeared in the *British Numismatic Journal* he was elected an honorary member of the Society in 1976 in recognition of his outstanding contribution to numismatics. His collection was sold by auction at Glendining's in three parts: 'Part I: The West Indies, Canada, Europe, Africa', on 21–22 September 1981; 'Part II Asian Territories, India, Australia', on 18–19 October 1982; and 'Part III: The Uniform Coinage of India', on 17 October 1983.

In 1937 Fred was married to Dora Hansford, A.T.C.L., piano teacher, of Colchester, at Colchester Garrison church on 16 August. They had three children — Dora, Ann and John — and it was Dora, now Dora Lockyer, F.L.A., who compiled a bibliography of Fred's works in 1980, upon which the bibliography below is based.

Bibliography of the works of Fred Pridmore

This bibliography is arranged under subject matter, limitations of space precluding a chronological or alphabetical listing in addition. References are to page numbers except in the case of issues of *The Numismatic Circular* prior to January 1959 which are to the column number.

NCirc=Spink, *The Numismatic Circular*
SCMB=Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin*

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- 020 Notes on Colonial coins. Coinages struck for the British Colonies. *NCirc* 72 (10), Oct. 1964, 225–6; 72 (11), Nov., 256–8.
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- 059 A British West Indies coin collection and two coin hoards. *NCirc* 82 (9), Sep. 1974, 332–9.

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105 Proof/patterns and suggested designs for the Imperial coinage of British India, 1858–1868. *NCirc* 82 (1), Jan. 1974, 7–9.
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- 110 Bombay Copperoons or Pice, 1672–1703. *NCirc* 80 (2), March 1972, 100–2.

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- 111 East India Company: Nuzzer rupees. *NCirc* 86 (2), Feb. 1978, 67–8.
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 113 The East India Company silver C's fanams of the Madras Presidency, 1689–1807. *SCMB* no. 636, Aug. 1971, 285–8, plate 56.
 114 The East India Company's Bell metal coinage for Manipur, 1838. *SCMB* no. 652, Dec. 1972, 477–81.
 115 East India Company's coinage of the Bengal Presidency. Murshidabad or the Calcutta Mint? *SCMB* no. 625, Sep. 1970, 311–16.
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 118 Notes on Colonial coins. The E.I.C. copper coinage struck at the Royal Mint in 1824–25. *NCirc* 71 (12), Dec. 1963, 251–3.
 119 Notes on Colonial coins. The East India Company's C's fanams, circa 1674–1730. *NCirc* 70 (3), March 1962, 55–7.
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 124 Notes on Colonial coins. The silver coinage of the Bombay Presidency, A.D. 1800 to A.D. 1835. *NCirc* 76 (6), June 1968, 189–91.
 125 Notes on Colonial coins. A study of mint marks — The Bengal Presidency mints of the period 1792–1797. *NCirc* 71 (3), March 1963, 50–1.
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- 127 British India coinage: the Lahore Mint, 1943–1947. *NCirc* 85 (10), 418–21.

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- 128 A proposed coinage of 'Sel' for the state of Manipur — India, 1871. *SCMB* no. 680, April 1975, 113–15.

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- 129 British India — Numismatic or philatelic?: Patna postal tickets, 1778. *NCirc* 85 (6), June 1977, 247–9.

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- 130 Notes on Colonial coins. Ionian Islands. *NCirc* 68 (4), April 1960, 233–5; 68 (5), May, 103–4.
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- 132 A new issue from Macau. *NCirc* 61 (1), Jan. 1953, 8.

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- 133 The 'Cut' money of Madagascar. *NCirc* 61 (11), Nov. 1953, 455–6.

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- 134 The Coins and coinages of the Straits Settlements and British Malaya: British Malaya. *NCirc* 59 (1), Jan. 1951, 1–7; 59 (2), Feb., 63–8; 59 (3), March, 113–16.
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- 150 Notes on Colonial coins. The Penang pattern cent, 1810 by Thomas Wyon. *NCirc* 71 (7–8), July–Aug. 1963, 140.
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- 153 New light on Montserrat countermarks. *Coins and Medals* 6 (5), May 1969, 369.

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- 159 Singapore merchants' tokens 1831-1845 and the East India Company's Sumatra coinage dated 1804 struck at the Soho mint, Birmingham (with D. Vice). *NCirc* 88 (9), Sep. 1980, 302-4.

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- 160 Sumatra: the East India Company's first coinage. *NCirc* 82 (11), Nov. 1974, 429-30.
See also under Singapore, no. 159.

THAILAND

- 161 Coins countermarked with Siamese numerals (with E. Wodak). *NCirc* 63 (3), March 1955, 113-18.

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- 171 Eric Wodak, B.Sc., F.R.N.S. *NCirc* 66 (12), Dec. 1958, 257.

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MEMBER B.N.T.A.

Current work on the Yorkshire Museum Numismatic Collections

MELINDA MAYS

The Yorkshire Museum's aim is to computerize the entire range of its numismatic collections. Eventually details of all the coins, tokens, medals and banknotes should be entered on the Museum's computer; it is also hoped that every item will be photographed at 1:1 scale. Entries are fairly comprehensive, and a complete print-out for any given coin should provide most of the details that numismatists would be likely to ask for.

Work has started on the extensive collection of Roman coins. In addition to routine cataloguing, the Museum is collaborating with the York Archaeological Trust to produce a publication of all Roman coins found in York. The Museum is to cover all relevant coins in its collection, including the fourth-century Heslington hoard of nearly 3000 coins.

The medieval coins covered by Miss E. J. E. Pirie's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* volume on coins in Yorkshire public collections have now been computerized. It is hoped that eventually there might be a further volume of the *Sylloge* which would cover the later hammered series. Work is currently underway on another field, tokens: 17th century tokens and silver tokens of the 19th century are already on the computer.

Yorkshire and other provincial banknotes have been sorted and placed in acid-free envelopes. A few foreign banknotes are included in the paper money collection.

The Coin Department would be interested to hear about any numismatic research relating to York, and Yorkshire in general, and would be particularly grateful for details of local finds of any period.

We have received visits from several research scholars in the past year, and look forward to seeing more in the future.

What others publish

Brief notices of some recent books and papers on Northern numismatics, 1984–87.

Books

Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: essays in memory of Michael Dolley, edited by M. A. S. Blackburn. Leicester University Press, 1986. 366 pp., 13 plates, cloth £35.00.

This memorial volume to Michael Dolley, surely the most vigorous and productive British numismatist of the century, has been contributed to by twenty-two of his colleagues and friends. His wide-ranging interests are evident in the list of his writings compiled by R. H. Thompson, comprising 864 published works. The majority of papers in this volume touch upon or deal in detail with aspects of northern English numismatics: notably Elizabeth Pirie's 'Finds of "sceattas" and "stycas" of Northumbria'; 'Scandinavians, Celts and Germans in Anglo-Saxon England: the evidence of moneyers' names' by Veronica Smart; 'Anglo-Scandinavian trade' by Peter Sawyer; 'Regional die-production in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* issue' by Mark Blackburn and Stewart Lyon, and 'A revised check-list of coin hoards from the British Isles c. 500–1100' by Mark Blackburn and Hugh Pagan.

P. GRIERSON and M. BLACKBURN. *Medieval European Coinage*. 1. The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th centuries). Cambridge University Press, 1986. 674 pp., 65 plates, cloth £80.00.

This first of thirteen volumes dealing with medieval European coins demonstrates how important and valuable will be the completed series to an overall view of medieval numismatics. It gives extensive coverage to the historical background and general features of the coinages of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards, Burgundians, Suevi, Frisians, Merovingian Franks, early Anglo-Saxons, Carolingians, and the Anglo-Saxons and Vikings of the 8th–10th centuries, listing and illustrating over 1500 coins in these series in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Included are 125 regal and ecclesiastical Northumbrian 'sceattas' and 'stycas' and 47 pennies or halfpennies of the Vikings of Northumbria.

E. J. E. PIRIE. *Catalogue of the Early Northumbrian Coins in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle upon Tyne*. University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1982. iv+30 pp., 5 plates, wrappers £4.50.

A catalogue of the 476 sceattas and stycas of the Northumbrian kings and the archbishops of York in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, with a new scheme of arrange-

ment and with comments on the Kirkoswald (1808), Heworth (1813) and Hexham (1832) finds.

E. J. E. PIRIE, with M. M. Archibald and R. A. Hall. *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971–81*. The Archaeology of York, 18/1, The Coins. Council for British Archaeology (for the York Archaeological Trust), London, 1986. 83 pp., 20 plates, wrappers £9.50.

A catalogue of the 425 post-Roman coins, coin dies, trial pieces, jettons, tokens and forgeries from excavations in York over the ten years 1971–81. Of particular interest are the finds from the Viking-age workshops at 16–21 Coppergate. There is a survey of archaeological aspects of the site by R. A. Hall; a note by the late Michael Dolley on the *First Hand* issue of Aethelred II at York; B. H. I. H. Stewart discusses the 'St. Peter' coin die and C. E. Blunt draws attention to a comparable Carolingian die from Melle, France. The material recorded comes from twenty-five sites in the city.

Michael DICKINSON. *Seventeenth Century Tokens of the British Isles and their Values*. Seaby, London, 1986. x+292 pp., 4 plates, cloth £35.00.

This is a check-list of some fourteen thousand tradesmen's tokens which has been based upon George C. Williamson's standard work, *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, but which incorporates many hundreds of tokens recorded since 1889–91. For reasons of limitation of space only the most essential elements of description are given.

There are 501 tokens listed for Yorkshire, including 59 which were not given by Williamson, the additional tokens being for Almondbury, Askrigg, Barnsley, Bawtry, Bentham, Bradford, Doncaster, Gargrave, Gildersome, Halifax, Helmsley, Holbeck, Hull, Kippax, Kirkby Malzeard, Leeds, Lund, Middleham, Pateley Bridge, Penistone, Pocklington, Pontefract, Richmond, Rotherham, Scarborough, Sedburgh, Sheffield, Skipton, Slaidburn, Slaithwaite, Snape, Thorne, Yarm and York.

Coin Hoards from Roman Britain, V, edited by A. M. Burnett. British Museum Occasional Papers No. 54, London, 1984. 155 pp., wrappers £9.00.

Amongst the eleven hoards recorded in this issue is that from Hovingham Park, Hovingham, N. Yorks. Found in 1980, it consisted of silver siliquae of the second half of the fourth century from Constantius II to Honorius. There were two imitations, of Arcadius and Theodosius, the latter probably of British origin. Forty-four coins are deposited in the Malton Museum.

Coinage in Ninth-century Northumbria, edited by D. M. Metcalf. (The Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History. BAR British Series 180) Oxford, 1987. £24.00.

The contributions in this volume are listed under 'Papers' below.

Papers

D. C. Axe, 'Dating the so-called King Hoard stycas', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 235–43.

Edward Besly, 'The York mint of Charles I', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 210–41.

Mark Blackburn, 'A preliminary account of the 9th-century coins in the Ashdon (Steventon End) hoard 1984' (includes a possible coin of Guthfrith of York c. 880–95), *NCirc* 93 (2), March 1985, 43–4.

M. A. S. Blackburn and M. J. Bonser, 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins — 2' (includes Yorkshire and North Humberside finds from Brodsworth, Cawood, Market Weighton, Osbaldwick, Ship-tonthorpe and Wentbridge), *BNJ* 55 (1985), 55–78.

— 'Single finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins — 3' (includes finds from Barmby Moor?, Bawtry, Malton and Yorkshire Wolds), *BNJ* 56 (1986), 64–102.

C. E. Blunt, 'The composition of the Cuerdale hoard', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 1–6.

— 'Northumbrian coins in the name of Alwaldus', *BNJ* 55 (1985), 192–4.

— 'Two curious coins of Alfred', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 355–60.

George C. Boon, 'Robert de Stuteville, Type 1', *NCirc* 93 (2), March 1985, 41.

James Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian History', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 57–89.

James Booth and Ian Blowers, 'Finds of sceattas and stycas from Sancton', *NC* 143 (1983), 139–45.

David Dumville, 'Textual archaeology and Northumbrian history subsequent to Bede', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 43–56.

John M. Ferrett, 'Co-op tokens' (with particular reference to West Yorkshire), *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*, 4, no. 3 (Summer, 1985).

Jeffrey Gardiner, 'The Walker Colliery medal' (near Newcastle upon Tyne), *NCirc* 95 (4), May 1987, 112–13.

G. R. Gilmore, 'Metal analysis of the Northumbrian stycas: review and suggestions', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 159–73.

G. R. Gilmore and D. M. Metcalf, 'Consistency in the alloy of Northumbrian stycas: evidence from die-linked specimens', *NC* 144 (1984), 192–8.

G. R. Gilmore and Miss E. J. E. Pirie, 'Consistency in the alloy of the Northumbrian stycas: evidence from Redwulf's short reign', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 175–85.

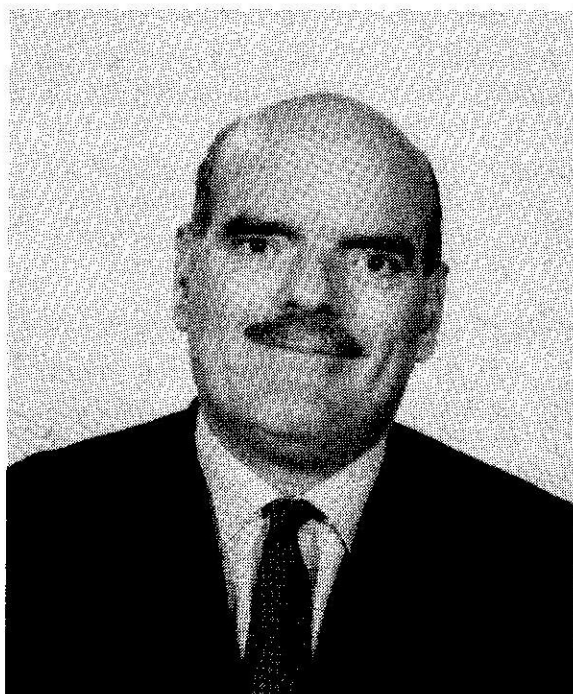
James Graham-Campbell, 'Some archaeological reflexions on the Cuerdale hoard', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 329–44.

D. Greenhalgh, 'A new mint for Edward I pence Class 3F' (Archbishop Wickwain's mint at York), *NCirc* 94 (6), July–Aug. 1986, 183.

- E. J. Harris, 'The halfpence and farthings of Edward I, II and III' (includes the mints of Newcastle and York), *NCirc* 95 (9), 287-91.
- D. P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the ninth century', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 11-25.
- Adrien Lewis, 'A coin gallery for the North' (on the Hart Gallery, Blackburn Museum), *NCirc* 94 (2), March 1986, 47.
- Stewart Lyon, 'Ninth-century Northumbrian chronology' (with notes on the *Eanred penny* by D. M. Metcalf, H. E. Pagan and Veronica Smart), *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 27-41.
- J. P. Mass, Prof., 'Two notes on Short Cross Class 4' (coins of Durham and York), *NCirc* 94 (1), Feb. 1986, 6.
- D. M. Metcalf, 'A topographical commentary on the coin finds from ninth-century Northumbria', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 361-82.
- 'Hexham and Cuerdale: two notes on metrology', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 383-96.
- D. M. Metcalf and J. P. Northover, 'Herreth', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 91-101.
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- M. B. Mitchiner and A. Skinner, 'Contemporary forgeries of English silver coins and their chemical composition: Henry III to William III' (including a tinned-brass York ecclesiastical penny), *NC* 145 (1985), 209-36.
- J. J. North, 'Irregular dies of the Durham mint c. 1300', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 74-80.
- H. E. Pagan, 'Some thoughts on the hoard evidence for the Northumbrian styca coinage', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 147-58.
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- 'Adamson's Hexham plates', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 257-327.
- Peter J. Seaby, 'A new "Standard" type for the reign of King Stephen', *BNJ* 53 (1983), 14-18.
- 'A quarter penny of Stephen' (Flag type), *Interim* vol. 11, no. 3 (York Archaeological Trust, 1986), 42-6.
- 'Of seals and sceptres: King Stephen and the Advocate of St Vaast's' (on the so-called York Group), *Numismatics — Witness to History* (IAPN Publication no. 8, 1986), 141-52.
- John Sidney, 'Yorkshire coinage legacy', *Coin & Medal News* 24 (12), Dec. 1987, 26-8.
- Veronica Smart, 'The personal names on pre-Viking Northumbrian coinages', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 245-55.
- Spink & Son, Ltd. English gold coins from the Estate of the late George Reginald Stansfeld (part of a Civil War hoard found in an old barn at Field House, Sowerby, W. Yorks, in 1818), *Spink Coin Auctions* 50, lots 690-709.

- Ian Stewart, 'Bishop Bek and the Durham coins of Edward I and II', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 81-5.
- 'CVNNETTI reconsidered', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, 345-54.
- 'The Anglie Dn Durham penny of 1360-1', *NCirc* 93 (2), March 1985, 39.
- 'A solidus from Yorkshire' (an imitation of a Frankish solidus of Louis the Pious from Stamford Bridge), *BNJ* 56 (1986), 182-3.

Obituary



FREDERICK BANKS

This Society and numismatics in general suffered a grievous loss with the untoward death of Fred ('Monty') Banks on 31 May 1976, at the age of 58.

Monty, who served in the RAF during World War II, joined the Yorkshire Numismatic Society in September 1963 and was elected Hon. Secretary in 1969, an office he filled with great distinction and vigour until his untimely death in 1976 following an operation. Ever willing to share his extensive numismatic knowledge with others, he was the personification of kindness itself and his unflagging enthusiasm was an inspiration to all who knew him. An ardent supporter of the British Numismatic Society, he was also founding Chairman of the Hull and District Numismatic Society in 1967. He held the offices of Hon. Secretary and BANS representative of the latter society from 1970 to 1976.

Although well informed in many diverse fields of numismatics, his foremost interest lay in the Anglo-Saxon series, with special reference to the enigmatic Cuerdale hoard. His booklet *The Problem of Cuerdale* (1966) will be familiar to all veteran members of this Society. Notwithstanding the fact that his views on the subject of Cuerdale are not universally accepted, his work was avowedly written — to quote his own words — 'with the object of stimulating further research through a different approach.'

Obituary

Among Monty's other writings were 'The 1868 hoard of the Albert Dock lock pit, Hull' (*BNJ* 37, 1968) and 'Hull and East Riding's contribution to numismatics' (*YNS Transactions*, 1970).

It is a matter of considerable regret that Monty did not survive to receive the Society's silver medal that was awarded to him posthumously in recognition of his unstinted service to the Society, and which was presented to his widow, Mrs Mary Banks, at a special ceremony in Leeds City Museum.

Twelve years onward, the memory of Monty's charisma still lingers ever green.

P.T.M.

It is with sadness that we record the deaths of the following former Presidents of Society, all of whom have died since 1973:

Mr D. O. Pawson, M.A., LL.B., at 92 years of age. President 1940–3, and later Secretary for many years. Silver medallist 1939.

Mr H. J. Armstrong. For a long time our oldest member, having joined the Society 24 June 1924. President, 1930–1. Silver medallist 1939.

Mr E. Fenner. President 1958–9. Silver medallist 1961. He was a founder member, with the late Frank Heeley, of the Huddersfield Numismatic Society.

The Ven C. O. Ellison, B.Sc., Archdeacon of Leeds. President 1964–5. Silver medallist 1965.

Dr M. R. R. Davies, LL.M., Ph.D. President 1974.

His Honour Judge A. Lonsdale. M.A. President 1971, and Editor of the last four numbers of the *Transactions*.

The Rules of The Yorkshire Numismatic Society

1 Name

The name of the Society shall be the Yorkshire Numismatic Society.

2 Objects

To foster the general study of numismatics and to stimulate interest in, and research into, numismatics connected with the North of England and particularly with Yorkshire.

3 Officers

The Officers of the Society shall be: a President, two Vice-Presidents, Secretary (or Secretaries), Treasurer, Auditor and Editors.

4 Council

The affairs of the Society shall be in the hands of a Council consisting of the Officers, all past Presidents and not more than four other members, the latter to retire by rotation, and the members so retiring not to be eligible for nomination for twelve months.

5 Membership

Anyone interested in Numismatics shall be eligible for membership of the Society and, if known personally to a member or supported by suitable references, may be elected at any meeting by a majority vote of those present.

An Honours Standing Committee formed of Past Presidents who are holders of the Silver Medal shall be responsible for recommending to the Society the award of the Society's Medal, and the bestowal of Honorary Membership.

6 Membership roll

The Secretary shall keep a roll of all members of the Society.

The Council shall have the power to remove a name from the Roll for non-payment of subscription or for other reasons. Members desiring to resign shall give notice to the Secretary before the end of September.

Applicants for Membership of the Society shall fill in the appropriate form.

7 Subscription

The annual Subscription shall be by £5.00 for full members and £2.00 for Junior members. At the age of 18 juniors will become Full Members and then be entitled to vote at the annual meeting.

Subscriptions shall become due on October 1 and payable before the following September 30.

8 Meetings

There shall normally be seven meetings per Session — of which one shall be the Annual General Meeting. In addition the Council shall meet at least once per Session. The places and dates of all meetings shall be decided by the Council. A special meeting of the Council may be called by the Secretary in consultation with the President, or at the request of three Council members.

9 Publications

The Transactions of the Society shall be published at two yearly intervals and each member shall be entitled to a copy of any publication issued during a year for which he has paid his subscription.

The Rules of the Yorkshire Numismatic Society

The contents of the Transactions shall, normally, be papers which have been read before the Society since the last issue of the Transactions.

The choice of the material for the Transactions shall be the responsibility of a committee of three, including the Editor who shall be the convenor of the committee.

10 Reports

The Annual Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer and Editor, and duly audited accounts, shall be presented at the Annual General Meeting.

11 Auction Sale

There shall be an Annual Sale at which members may dispose of their duplicates or unwanted coins, tokens or medals.

Details of all lots for sale shall be submitted to the Secretary at least seven days before the Sale.

All lots shall be placed on view before the commencement of the Sale. The buyer shall pay the purchase price at the close of the Sale.

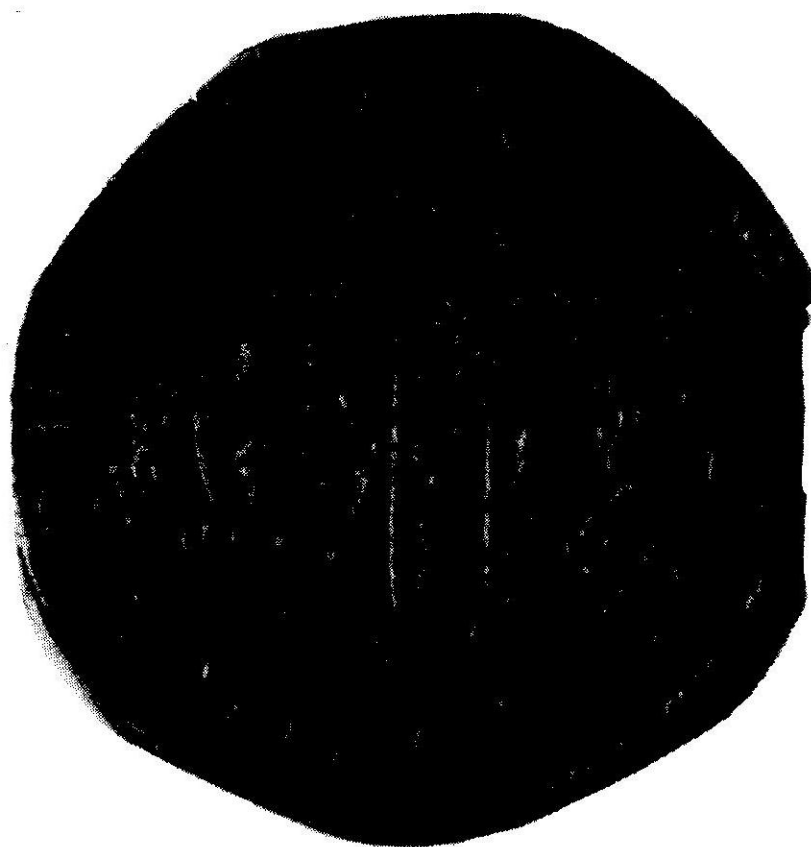
A fee, to be decided by the Council, shall be deducted from all payments as a contribution to the Society's funds.

12 Changes in policy or rules

The Council shall have the power to act on any matter not provided for in the Rules of the Society.

Any major change of policy or any alteration in, or addition to, the Rules shall be made at the Annual General Meeting only.

Any such proposed change may be placed on the Agenda of the Annual General Meeting by the Council or by the Secretary after receiving a written request signed by six members. A written copy of any proposed changes shall be issued to all the members at least one week prior to the Annual General Meeting.



ISBN 0 9513414 0 5

Price £5.00